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SOME POPULATION SHIFTS IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1930-1940

J. M. GILLETTE

University of North Dakota

STUDENTS OF population have made us conscious of certain profound changes and trends in our population during the decade ending 1930. They also drove home the lesson that changing birth rates, slowing down of growth of national populations, and great migratory currents between city and country and from section to section of the national domain have profound importance for business, occupations, education, church life, and all other forms of social activity. With the publication of facts from the 1940 census, we are coming face to face with further tremendous changes, some of which are unique in our history. The studies which appear here are evidences of the continuing shifts our populations are making. Certain ones are continuations of preceding and long-time changes which have taken place, while others have the appearance of being new or recent. Considerable light is thrown on intersectional shifts, such as that between the Plains and Pacific states and on those between central and outlying populations of metropolitan districts. During the course of the study, a method was devised by which rates of natural increase may be estimated for certain classes of populations not having separate recorded birth and death rates which has proved most useful in the determination of differential changes between area inhabitants.

It goes without saying that such pronounced shifts of inhabitants as are denoted here are symptomatic of deep-seated forces at work in our national economy. It is rather obvious that if a place or state or area declines in number of inhabitants, there are due causes for it, and that if the shift is pronounced, the causal factors necessarily must be expansive and profound. The intra-metropolitan district shifts are testimonials to the emergence of new attitudes about the desirability of big city residence.

Proportion of Incorporated Places Declining. Of considerable importance is the knowledge regarding the proportion of incorporated places losing in-

habitants during census decades. The writer has published the results of his estimates in this field for the four decades ending 1930 (*Rural Sociology* (1936), Chapter 28). Recently he has gone over census alphabetical lists of incorporated places of all the states, over 16,000 in number, segregated the various classes, counted the number losing, estimated percentages, and tabulated the results. The results of the study are presented in Table 1. The reader will make such observations and deductions as he pleases.

It is to be remembered that this table and the two succeeding graphs deal only with percentage of incorporated places losing inhabitants. Two observations should be made regarding this. First, these thousands of incorporated places constitute a very large sample of all aggregations, incorporated and unincorporated. The sample is probably a third of all aggregations and yields a pretty accurate statistical representation of all places in general. As we shall see, there are special areas where exceptions to the rule arise. Second, a large or major percentage of places may lose inhabitants while all aggregations taken together show an increase of population. I have no means of testing this out in all directions at this time for the last census, such as for the "under 500" class in Kansas where 76 out of a hundred lost inhabitants, but in most cases, the statement holds for previous decades.

In Figure 1, we observe what has happened to each of seven population classes of incorporated places of the nation, excluding New England, for any and all of the five census decades, 1890-1940. New England could not be included because Vermont alone of those states distinguishes incorporated villages from the surrounding farm population. We notice that the proportion of small places that lose is generally much larger than that of the very large and that the intermediate places graduate somewhat regularly from the one extreme to the other. Roughly, it is true that the chance a place will lose inhabitants is inverse to its size—the larger the place, the less the probability. The last decade disturbed that rule, especially regarding the largest class. We also note that the probability that a place will lose population increases with time. This was strikingly true before 1940. The last decade broke the rule for the three smaller sets of towns but accentuated it for large and great cities. It is an astounding fact that 27 out of 90 large cities showed fewer persons in 1940 than in 1930.

Figure 2 gives a view of the diversity which obtains with respect to the proportion of places losing inhabitants during the last census decade in the eight divisions of the nation. There are two types, with various compromises between them: Middle Atlantic, whose states are New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and South Atlantic, including all the states on the Atlantic from Delaware south to Florida, including District of Columbia and West Virginia. In the North, the proportion of places losing inhabitants increases from the smaller to the greater, whereas in the South the case is just reversed. It is probable that New England would resemble

States and Divisions	Under 500			500-999			1000-2499			2500-4999			5000-9999			10000-24999			25,000-100,000			100,000 and over		
	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940	Counted 1930	Num. 1930	Pct. 1940
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	(1)	391	108	(2)	349	92	(3)	286	73	(4)	276	69	(5)	276	69	(6)	276	69	(7)	276	69	(8)	276	69
New York	(1)	391	108	(2)	349	92	(3)	286	73	(4)	276	69	(5)	276	69	(6)	276	69	(7)	276	69	(8)	276	69

States and Divisions	Under 500			500-999			1000-2499			2500-4999			5000-9999			10000-24999			25,000-100,000			100,000 and over		
	Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940			Losing by 1940		
	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.	Counted 1930	Num.	Pct.
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	391	108	27.6	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
	113	58	51.4	131	48	30.6	137	49	32.9	80	37	46.2	40	15	37.5	47	16	34.0	57	26	44.7	18	10	55.5
	42	9	21.4	44	9	20.5	54	19	22.6	52	10	19.2	50	11	22.0	40	11	27.5	20	12	60.0	6	4	66.7
	230	41	17.5	171	42	24.5	215	74	34.6	147	48	33.3	101	33	32.7	70	37	52.9	22	9	41.0	5	3	60.0
	1284	390	23.3	865	180	20.8	644	133	20.6	248	49	19.7	185	52	27.4	131	24	19.0	77	28	36.3	19	8	42.0
EAST N. CENTRAL	325	88	27.1	196	39	19.9	261	35	20.9	60	13	21.6	51	10	19.6	33	6	18.2	18	8	44.5	8	4	50.0
	193	67	34.7	138	41	29.7	96	13	13.6	34	4	11.8	27	5	18.5	17	4	25.0	12	6	50.0	5	2	40.0
	440	159	36.7	276	59	21.3	212	59	27.9	76	23	30.2	55	10	18.2	34	7	20.6	22	5	22.7	2	0	0.0
	139	34	24.4	115	19	18.2	99	18	18.2	42	9	21.4	32	7	21.9	23	5	21.6	14	5	35.1	3	2	66.7
	187	42	22.4	140	22	15.7	76	8	10.5	36	0	0.0	20	0	0.0	14	1	7.1	4	36.4	1	0	0.0	
WEST N. CENTRAL	2381	1110	46.6	847	314	37.0	552	149	27.0	165	33	20.0	82	15	18.2	62	17	27.4	18	3	16.7	9	4	44.5
	418	84	20.0	142	16	4.2	88	7	8.0	39	4	10.2	19	4	21.1	11	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
	506	183	36.5	213	55	25.8	123	30	26.0	46	5	10.8	14	3	21.4	11	2	18.2	9	2	22.1	1	0	0.0
	451	192	42.6	132	58	43.9	99	20	20.2	26	4	15.4	20	3	15.0	10	3	30.0	4	1	25.0	2	2	100.0
	223	116	52.0	57	16	28.0	36	9	25.0	2	0	0.0	6	0	0.0	5	2	40.0	1	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
SOUTH ATLANTIC	179	101	56.4	61	30	49.1	42	13	30.9	7	1	14.3	2	0	0.0	5	2	40.0	1	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	313	212	67.6	109	62	56.9	75	22	29.3	15	3	20.0	9	3	33.3	6	2	33.3	1	0	0.0	2	1	50.0
	291	222	76.1	133	87	65.3	89	48	53.8	30	16	59.0	12	2	16.7	16	9	62.5	2	0	0.0	2	1	50.0
	930	334	35.8	438	126	38.7	416	86	20.6	155	27	17.4	87	11	12.6	51	5	9.8	33	1	3.0	0	0	0.0
	26	4	15.4	10	0	0.0	9	1	11.1	5	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
EAST S. CENTRAL	41	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	70	26	32.0	47	13	27.6	43	7	33.3	12	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	5	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
	55	14	25.4	44	11	25.0	61	24	39.2	17	5	29.4	12	7	58.3	4	2	50.0	5	1	20.0	0	0	0.0
	223	66	29.6	99	25	25.2	89	12	13.5	31	4	12.9	16	1	6.2	13	1	7.7	8	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	107	42	39.2	42	16	38.1	51	6	11.8	10	1	10.0	12	0	0.0	5	0	0.0	4	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
WEST S. CENTRAL	308	151	49.0	103	27	26.2	91	16	17.5	33	5	15.2	17	0	0.0	10	0	0.0	4	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
	91	22	24.1	59	20	33.8	51	10	19.6	27	6	22.2	16	1	6.2	7	1	11.4	4	0	0.0	3	0	0.0
	396	140	35.4	271	80	32.7	237	54	22.8	97	14	14.4	44	7	15.9	32	2	6.2	10	1	10.0	6	0	0.0
	111	35	38.7	70	15	21.4	72	21	23.2	23	7	30.4	16	4	25.0	7	0	0.0	5	1	20.0	4	0	0.0
	71	26	36.7	55	15	27.2	48	8	16.6	25	4	16.6	13	2	15.4	3	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
MOUNTAIN	90	35	38.9	63	25	39.7	63	14	22.2	27	1	3.7	11	0	0.0	11	1	9.1	2	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	124	44	35.4	83	34	40.8	54	11	20.3	22	2	9.1	4	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	598	274	45.7	360	141	39.7	378	131	34.7	155	36	23.2	86	26	30.2	44	9	20.1	17	1	5.9	8	1	12.5
	206	88	42.7	75	23	30.6	55	28	50.9	28	3	10.3	9	0	0.0	7	1	14.2	2	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	247	127	45.8	102	55	53.8	92	44	47.7	38	18	46.5	20	10	50.0	12	3	25.0	2	0	0.0	2	0	0.0
PACIFIC	86	35	40.6	136	53	59.0	177	49	27.7	72	18	25.0	46	14	30.4	21	5	23.7	10	1	10.0	5	1	20.0
	341	99	29.1	188	47	25.0	164	20	12.2	63	9	14.3	39	6	20.6	20	1	5.0	8	1	12.5	2	0	0.0
	75	13	17.3	33	9	27.2	21	4	19.0	14	1	7.1	5	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	45	14	31.0	11	4	36.3	17	0	0.0	3	1	33.3	3	0	0.0	4	1	25.0	2	1	50.0	0	0	0.0
	122	42	33.0	47	10	21.3	42	6	14.2	9	0	0.0	10	2	20.0	5	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
UNITED STATES	15	5	33.3	14	1	7.1	11	1	9.1	6	0	0.0	4	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	0	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	9	1	11.1	0	1	10.0	6	4	66.7	0	0	0.0	2	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
	45	11	24.4	41	14	34.1	35	5	14.3	13	2	15.4	4	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
	208	67	32.2	119	31	26.0	149	20	19.5	89	6	6.7	61	8	13.1	41	6	14.6	19	2	10.5	9	0	0.0
	83	31	37.4	52	18	39.5	43	13	30.2	19	1	5.3	4	2	50.0	10	4	40.0	2	2	100.0	3	0	0.0
TOTAL	112	35	38.4	34	9	11.8	28	4	14.2	13	1	7.7	9	2	22.2	4	0	0.0	1	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
	13	5	38.4	33	9	27.2	76	12	15.4	57	4	7.0	48	4	8.3	27	2	7.4	16	0	0.0	5	0	0.0
	6590	2522	38.7	3434	1027	29.8	2976	744	25.0	1251	269	21.5	795	184	23.6	528	128	24.2	238	63	26.3	80	23	29.1

FIGURE 1. PERCENTAGES OF INCORPORATED PLACES LOSING POPULATION DURING EACH OF FIVE DECADES FROM 1890 TO 1940, BY CLASS OF PLACE

Population	Decade Ending	Percent Losing Inhabitants										
		5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	
Under 500	1940											38.7
	1930											48.5
	1920											40.3
	1910											32.9
	1900											25.2
500-999	1940											29.8
	1930											44.1
	1920											46.6
	1910											31.9
	1900											31.5
1000-2499	1940											25.0
	1930											34.4
	1920											27.6
	1910											27.8
	1900											17.8
2500-4999	1940											21.5
	1930											18.6
	1920											24.2
	1910											19.9
	1900											16.6
5000-9999	1940											23.6
	1930											16.4
	1920											16.4
	1910											15.8
	1900											12.4
10000-24999	1940											24.2
	1930											11.8
	1920											11.6
	1910											7.3
	1900											4.2
25000 & over	1940											26.2
	1930											4.2
	1920											2.2
	1910											2.1
	1900											4.3

(Estimates made by J. M. Gillette from lists of incorporated places published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census at each census from 1890 to 1940 inclusive.)

the Middle Atlantic. Most of the divisions resemble the South Atlantic rather than the Middle Atlantic. However, in the West North Central, the loss of population in such cities as Duluth, St. Louis, and the two Kansas Cities creates a kinship with the Middle Atlantic. The East North Central, with the great industrial states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan,

FIGURE 2. PERCENTAGES OF INCORPORATED PLACES OF THE UNITED STATES LOSING POPULATION DURING THE DECADE ENDING 1940, BY DIVISIONS

Population Class	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central
	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50
Under 500			
500-999			
1000-2499			
2500-4999			
5000-9999			
10000-24,999			
25000 and over			
	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central
	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50
Under 500			
500-999			
1000-2499			
2500-4999			
5000-9999			
10000-24999			
25000 and over			
	Mountain	Pacific	
	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	Percent Losing 10 20 30 40 50	
Under 500			
500-999			
1000-2499			
2500-4999			
5000-9999			
10000-24999			
25000 and over			

(Estimates by J. M. Gillette from U. S. Census Lists of places, "Final Population" for newspapers, 1941.)

and with losses in such cities as Akron, Toledo, Cleveland, Fort Wayne, and Flint, inclines it to join the eastern type.

So it would seem, from these facts, that big cities are having the toughest going in the north and northeast and the best going on the South Atlantic

coast. It is also as patent that small places are having the worst time of it in the West Central states, north and south, especially those bordering on the Great Plains. Those sections are the greatest danger points for the great and the small.

The Case of Our Great Cities. For the first time in the history of the nation, we face the startling fact that multitudes of large cities and scores of great cities, those of 100,000 or more inhabitants, have become stagnant, failed to show a growth, or actually have declined. Out of 328 cities of 25,000 or more people in 1930, 84, or over a fourth, manifested a decline by 1940; and of the 90 cities of 100,000 or over, 27, or 30 percent, lost inhabitants during the past ten years. This is something of which we must take cognizance. It possibly may denote that we have reached a turning point in our national economy, or at least in urban economy. It is rather alarming to think that such great aggregations as Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and St. Louis have failed to grow even for one decade. Note the heavy percentages of great cities declining in population during the last census decade in the specified states: Massachusetts, 66.7; Connecticut, 33.3; New York, 43; New Jersey, 66.7; Pennsylvania, 60; Ohio, 50; Indiana, 40; Michigan, 66.7; Minnesota, 33.3; Missouri, 100; Kansas, 50; Texas, 20. Probably this is the most disturbing showing of all the "population alarms," because it carries so many and such profound implications.

Not only have certain great cities lost inhabitants but the total urban population has greatly slowed down its rate of growth. The average rate of urban growth between 1820 and 1890 was 69 percent a decade, during the next four decades ending 1930 it was 31 percent a decade, and during the last ten years it was only 7.9 percent. Of course the rate of increase of the total national population has declined also but not as rapidly as has the urban. The urban rate of decrease for the periods mentioned was 75 as compared with one of 60 for the nation during the same periods. Meanwhile, for the last decade, the population of villages under 2500 has increased 18 percent while the number of farmers living on farms has decreased slightly. The total population of the 90 great cities of 1930 made a gain of only 4.9 percent during the last ten years and its weight in the national population shrank from 29.4 to 28.2 percent. In New York, the seven great cities gained 6 percent, while the six in New Jersey lost 2.5 percent, the five in Pennsylvania lost 0.7 percent and the eight in Ohio lost slightly.

What has happened that our great aggregations of inhabitants should suddenly go into reverse? Any assaying of the future is dependent on understanding the background conditions.

An undoubted contributing factor is contracting foreign markets for manufactured products with the consequent inhibition of our manufacturing industry. Expanding industry is basic for urban growth. When it becomes static or declines, cities must suffer loss. Both long and short-time

economic nationalism have robbed us of our foreign markets. The long-time trend is for backward nations to manufacture for themselves which of course reduces our foreign trade. Postwar economic nationalism of European nations speeded up and intensified this process. World War II has greatly magnified this trend. Prominent among retarding causes has been the depression. Whatever its cause, it smote our industries and consequently our cities right and left. It closed factories, reduced payrolls and incomes, cut down demand for goods, caused a contraction of industry. Some great centers immediately lost scores of thousands of inhabitants as a consequence. Another factor promoting urban shrinkage is the practical disappearance of immigration. During much of the last 10 years, emigrant aliens who left our shores outnumbered immigrant aliens who were received at our ports of entry. Immigrants settle in cities predominantly and their absence stops one source of urban growth. A stoppage of the flow of migration from our rural districts has had a similar checking effect. With their high reproductive rates, rural populations formerly sent our cities a net five or six million persons a decade; but closed factories and millions unemployed in cities rendered our great centers undesirable destinations. Consequently, the rural contribution to cities during the decade ending 1940 was less than 4.5 millions. This introduces the next factor: the falling rate of reproduction in great cities. Some cities do not reproduce themselves and, if left to themselves, if not fed constantly by migrants from outside, they would decline and perish.

There is a probability that the heavy increase in the populations adjacent to large cities may be largely responsible for the decline of some of those centers. Data relating to the greatest cities are not yet available, but I have made estimates from reports on 43 metropolitan districts whose central cities have 100,000 or more inhabitants and on another 38 with central cities of less than that amount. These are distributed throughout the nation and consequently should give a fair picture of all metropolitan districts. The results show that populations outside the central cities grow much faster than those within. In the 43 more populous districts, the unincorporated districts increased an average of 14.5 times more rapidly than central cities and 9.5 times faster than the incorporated outside populations. In the case of the 38 smaller district central cities, the rate of increase among the outside unincorporated inhabitants was 5 times that of central cities and 3.3 times that of the outside incorporated places.

In order to test out this situation, I made an analytical study of the possible sources of gains and losses in the populations of central city and outside populations of metropolitan districts. The available census data made it possible to obtain satisfactory estimates for only four states, and this only for those districts whose central cities had 100,000 or more inhabitants. In Ohio, data for two districts with central cities of that class were not avail-

able. In the case of the other three states, all districts with central cities of the desired class are present. Table 2 presents the results of the study.

TABLE 2. DIFFERENTIAL GAINS IN METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS OF SPECIFIED STATES WITH CENTRAL CITY HAVING 100,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS, 1930-40

State	Central City					Outside of City				
	Census Gain		Natural Increase		Differential Gain ²	Census Gain		Natural Increase		Differential Gain
	Thousands	Rate	Thousands	Rate ¹		Thousands	Rate	Thousands	Rate	
Ohio: 6 districts	- 4.7	-0.25	63.0	3.3	-58.3	81.7	13.3	31.9	5.2	59.8
Missouri: 2 districts	- 6.5	- 0.6	32.0	2.56	-38.5	91.2	13.1	26.3	4.43	64.9
Washington: 3 districts	11.8	2.0	14.3	2.44	- 2.5	41.8	38.7	4.4	4.02	37.7
Tennessee: 4 districts	67.7	10.7	28.0	4.42	39.7	62.0	37.0	16.4	9.76	45.6

¹ Specific rates of natural increase were obtained by establishing the mean index number of the population classes, great cities, smaller cities, rural nonfarm villages, and rural farm and assigning to each class as its rate of natural increase such percentage of the mean state rate of natural increase for the decade in question as the weight of its ratio-index relative to the mean ratio-index entitled it to. Amounts of natural increase are derived by applying the mean decennial rate to the 1930 population.

² Minus sign means loss.

These results could not have been attained had I not luckily discovered a method of estimating natural increase for great cities and for village, or rural nonfarm, populations. Rates of natural increase thus derived are short by a small percentage, due to the fact that the census under-reports the number of children under five.

A couple of attention points about Table 2 are in order. First, regarding "differential gain," the heading is not entirely accurate because it may represent either the sum of, or difference between, the census and natural increase contributions of the central or outside area, but it is usable. In the central city areas of Ohio, there was a census loss of 4.7 thousands and a natural increase contribution of 63,000 which evidently disappeared from such areas. Hence, the total area loss was 58,000. The outside area gained 82,000 according to census returns and natural increase contributed 32,000. The difference represents the migration into the area from beyond its borders. Second, a comparison of the differential gains of the central and outside areas tells something about what is taking place between the two populations, but only a part. Thus, the central area loss in Ohio just about equals the outside area gain by in-migration. It strongly suggests the outside chan-

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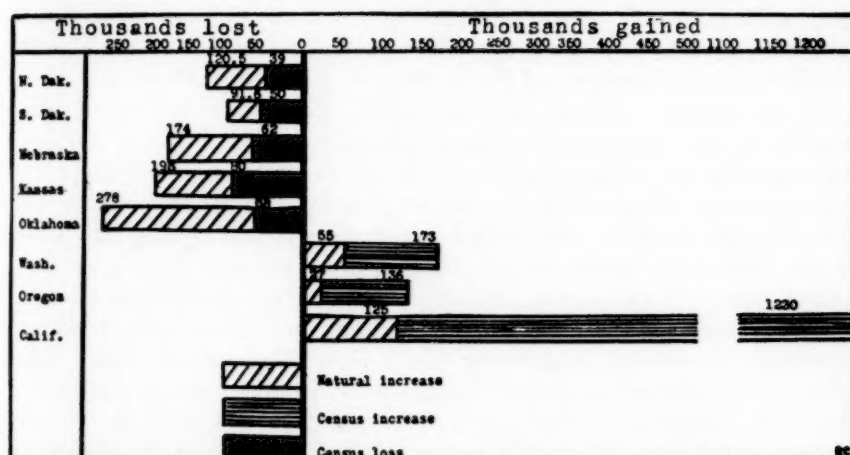
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neled off some or much of the population from the outside. Of course both areas gained inhabitants from afar and also lost migrants to such regions, but the results are much the same as if just so many persons had moved over the interdistrict boundaries in a body.

The differential "outside" gain in Missouri was nearly doubly sufficient to meet the loss of inhabitants in the central areas, suggesting that a wider osmosis of population was taking place. The same was true in Washington. In Tennessee, a large migration to cities exceeded their natural increase, the same being true in outside districts, the whole metropolitan district gain by in-migration being 85,000 greater than that by natural increase.

FIGURE 3. CENSUS, AND NATURAL INCREASE LOSSES AND GAINS, SPECIFIED STATES, 1930-40



When census data for the past census decade becomes complete for all these areas, an extended survey of this kind would go far to reveal interarea and interregional reactions for the different classes of population.

Interregional Shifts. The study of westward migration of inhabitants for the years preceding 1935 has shown two streams, a northern and southern one, having their tiny sources in the far eastern and less extreme states, such tributaries becoming larger and larger until they unite in the far west with their outlets in California and Oregon. The present study may be regarded as picturing some details of that former study and continuing them to 1940. My results and comparisons relate to the eastern tier of the Great Plains-states and to the Pacific states. They are shown in Figure 3.

It is to be noted that bars extending to the left of the vertical line denote losses of population while those extending to the right show gains. In North Dakota, for example, the "census loss," the decrease of inhabitants as recorded by the census of 1940, is 39,000 in round numbers, but that state had a large natural increase of nearly 82,000, the equivalent of which was not

to be found within that area and, therefore, must have left the state. Washington on the Pacific coast made a census gain of 173,000, 55,000 of which was its own natural increase and 118,000 was in-migration from beyond its own borders. In other words, Washington gained by borrowing from outside almost the exact amount North Dakota lost. Of course, we do not imply that 120,000 North Dakotans migrated bodily to Washington, but the equivalents are there and the evidence is that a very large part of North Dakota's loss is to be found in Washington and Oregon. Thus, not much of an equivalent, 120,000 people lodged in Montana, for that state had only a census gain of about 22,000 but a natural increase gain of 42,000 leaving 20,000 to migrate to the outside. Very few would go eastward, it is pretty certain. Idaho could have absorbed some of the 120,000 for it had a census gain of 80,000, only 48,000 of which was natural increase. Also, South Dakota's 92,000 "lost" souls must have pressed westward instead of eastward, dividing Mountain and Pacific territory with North Dakotans.

At the southern end of the Great Plains, things were happening also. Oklahoma registers a census loss of 58,000 but a total loss of 278,000, 220,000 of which is the equivalent of its own natural increase. Kansas also sent away 195,000, of which 115,000 saw first light on her own soil. On the Pacific coast is a great receptacle for such great hoards of migrants, California. That state made the greatest gain of all states, a sheer 1,230,000, only 125,000 of which can be attributed to natural increase. It had to make standing room for 1,105,000 inhabitants from the outside, more than the combined losses of the eastern tier of the Great Plains states. Again, that state has shown its population "hoggishness" in taking many and giving back few. Arizona must have sent some 21,000 on to California or some other western state, for it had a census gain of 63,000 and one from natural increase of 42,000. New Mexico did a little to absorb westward migrant "Okies" and "Arkies," since it added 43,000 to its population stature above what its own natural increase contributed, its census gain being 109,000 and its natural increase 66,000. Its mean birth rate for 1930-39 is 30.25, its mean death rate 14.30, giving it a mean rate of natural increase of 15.95. In the same manner Colorado gained 25,500 by in-migration; Wyoming gained 2100; Nevada, 16,400; Utah lost 34,000 by out-migration.

It is significant to learn that the Pacific coast states gained a far greater number of inhabitants from in-migration (excess of census gains over their natural increase), 1,332,000, than all the eastern tier of the Great Plains states (North Dakota southward to Oklahoma) and the Mountain states combined lost by out-migration (census loss plus natural increase), 982,000. So those states took over from the rest of the nation something like a third of a million during the ten years, 1930-39. To make the Great Plains record complete, it should be indicated that Texas made a census gain of 590,000, its natural increase was 509,000, and so it gained 81,000 by in-migration.

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AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF URBAN SERVICE INSTITUTIONS*

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University of Michigan

THE HUMAN ecologist is interested in the ways in which various types of human activities are accommodated to the limiting aspects of the environment. The environment he regards as being composed of all external conditions or factors that affect human behavior. This includes population, with its customary modes of acting, as well as topography, climate, and sustenance materials. One phase of this general problem, which has occupied others as well as ecologists, concerns the relation between institutions,¹ or institutionalized services, and population. Speculation on this question has recurred from time to time in the literature of social science since the day of Adam Smith, but until recent years no serious attempt has been made to investigate the relationship; a failure probably due to the lack of adequate data.

Contemporary economists and ecologists have devoted some research effort to this question, but in general the problem has been conceived narrowly as a relationship between size of population in a given area and the number of institutions serving that population. Bruce L. Melvin, in 1929, published a statistical analysis of service agencies and organizations in villages of various sizes.² In the same year, William J. Reilly completed a Texas study in which he analyzed the trade areas of different sized cities and towns for different classes of merchandise.³ As a by-product of this study, minimum population requirements for different kinds of institutions were noted for the area included in the investigation. Similarly, Krensler and Melvin demonstrated that each type of institution tends to have a particular population requirement with respect to number.⁴ C. C. Zimmerman⁵ and T. Lynn Smith⁶ also gave consideration to this relationship in connection with their studies of village trade areas. R. D. McKenzie, in *The*

* Presented to Ecology Division, American Sociological Society, Chicago, Dec. 28, 1940.

¹ The term institution, it should be noted, is used advisedly here and throughout the discussion. Actually the analysis deals with only one aspect of "institution," i.e., the observable.

² *Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925, Cornell University Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. 493, Ithaca, 1929.*

³ *Methods for the Study of Retail Relationships, Univ. of Texas Bulletin 2944, Austin, 1929.*

⁴ *A Partial Sociological Study of Dryden, New York, Cornell University Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. 504, Ithaca, 1930.*

⁵ *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-29, University of Minnesota Agri. Exp. Sta. Bull. 269, St. Paul, 1930.*

⁶ *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-31, Louisiana Bull. 284, Louisiana State University, 1933.*

Metropolitan Community, discussed briefly the influence of population number on the institutions in a community, presenting data which indicate that the relationship is modified by proximity of the community to a larger community.⁷ In this latter respect, McKenzie's work constitutes an exception to the usual approach to the problem. The general conclusion drawn from these and other studies is that the size of the population affects in some more or less direct manner the number and variety of institutions associated with it.⁸

However, these studies have been inconclusive. The customary approach to the question of relation of institutions to population has been that of computing the ratio of all institutions of each type to the total population in the community. This procedure was used, in 1927, by the United States Bureau of the Census in tabulating the results of an experimental survey of service institutions in eleven metropolitan cities;⁹ and again by Reilly in his study of Texas communities.¹⁰ Certain sharp disparities occur in the findings of these two studies. A brief comparison reveals that 12,000 people are required to maintain a music store in the surveyed cities of over 100,000 population, whereas, in Texas, music stores occur in towns of 2500 population. Further, there is one specialized men's hat store per 27,000 people in the metropolitan communities, although 60,000 are required to support such a store in a Texas city. On the other hand, men's apparel stores bear the same ratio to population in both areas of study. On the basis of these studies, it appears that there is no consistent relationship between institutions and population.

When similar ratios were calculated, using the 1935 Business Census data, the number of all institutions per 1000 population showed a marked decline as size of city increased. Of the several types of institutions, only Food Stores and Service Establishments increased in ratio to population with size of city. This finding is contradictory to the usual conclusion that number of institutions is directly related to size of city.¹¹

The unreliability of a simple ratio of institutions to population for use in making comparisons among cities is further demonstrated by data on the behavior of institutions in depression conditions. It has been found that although population withdraws its support from institutions and becomes more self-sufficient, as represented in a general decline in per capita sales, the number of institutions actually increases.¹² These facts lead to the sug-

⁷ New York, 1933, 71-78.

⁸ Cf. P. Ford, "Competition and the Number of Retail Shops," *The Econ. J.*, September 1935, 501-508.

⁹ Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., *Retail and Wholesale Trade of Eleven Cities*, 1928.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ Cf. C. E. Lively, *Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota*, 1932, 4; T. Lynn Smith, *loc. cit.*, 9; and Bruce L. Melvin, *loc. cit.*, 23.

¹² Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 11, New York, 1937; and Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, "Consumption Statistics," Dec., 1937.

gestion that the number of institutions is not a proper measure of the amount of institutionalized activity in a community. It is entirely possible that size of institution varies with size of city in such a way as to obscure a positive correlation between amount of institutionalized activity and population. Studies based on a more appropriate measure of the relationship have not been undertaken.

In this paper, the author proposes to reexamine the relationship in question through a consideration of size of institution, using data from the 1935 Census of Business. Further, he intends to examine the relationship of institutions with certain population variables other than size. There is reason to believe that differentials within a population exert an important influence on the institutions serving the population. An investigation of this kind has not been made before, and the attempt here is concerned primarily with outlining the problem.

The term "institution" is used to refer to any agency established for the service of the needs of the general population. Actually, the term is restricted to twelve classes of retail and service establishments¹³ for which data were available for all sizes of cities in the United States Census of Business, 1935. Other types of institutions, e.g., churches, schools, etc., were excluded for the reason that suitable data were not at hand. While the data provided in the Census of Business may not be regarded as sufficiently accurate for purposes of exact analysis, they are satisfactory for the determination of general relationships. These data are analyzed for 1780 cities ranging in size from 2500 to ~~1,000,000~~ population.¹⁴

Institutional structure, another term used in the following discussion, is merely a convenient way of referring to the particular combination of institutions found to exist in a community or class of communities. Each unit in the structure is represented by an average measure for that class of institutions. The use of the term institutional structure involves no particular conception of a hierarchy or pattern of institutions.

When the average size of institutions, in terms of sales, is calculated for each city size-class, it becomes evident that as cities increase in size their institutions grow larger. With the exception of Food Stores, General Stores, and Lumber, Building, and Hardware Stores, each type of institution becomes larger as the urban aggregate increases in size. Further analysis reveals that there is a pronounced inverse correlation between the number

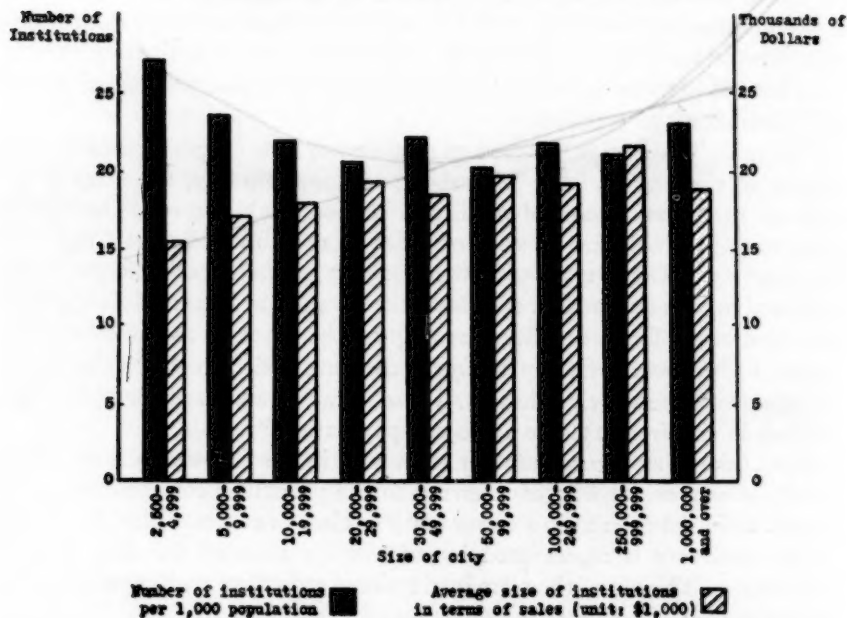
¹³ Food Stores, Eating Places, General Stores, General Merchandise Stores, Apparel Stores, Automotive Stores, Filling Stations, Household, Furniture, and Radio Stores, Lumber, Building, and Hardware Stores, Drug Stores, Other Stores (*Census of Retail Distribution*, Vol. III), and Service Establishments (*Census of Service Establishments*, Vol. II).

¹⁴ These cities are distributed in nine size-classes borrowed, with certain modifications, from the *Census of Retail Distribution*, Vol. IV. The classes are: 2500-4999; 5000-9999; 10,000-19,999; 20,000-29,999; 30,000-49,999; 50,000-99,999; 100,000-249,999; 250,000-999,999; and 1,000,000 and over.

and size of institutions in different sized cities, as is shown for the class All Institutions, in Fig. 1. This is somewhat more marked for the individual types of institutions, with the exception of General Stores, Apparel Stores, and Personal Service Establishments.¹⁵ It is likely that these facts account for the inconsistencies in the results of some of the earlier studies.

What is needed, then, is a measure of the relationship of institutions to population which combines the effect of number and of size of institutions.

FIGURE 1. NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS PER 1000 POPULATION AND AVERAGE SIZE OF INSTITUTIONS, BY SIZE OF CITY, UNITED STATES, 1935



*Sales
Population*

This is accomplished in the figure for mean per capita sales, which relates institutional volume, so to speak, directly with population and avoids the limitations of a simple ratio.

Employing the mean per capita sales (in dollars) figures in a comparison of institutions in different sized cities, institutional volume is found to increase slightly, though irregularly, with size of city. But the several types

¹⁵ The coefficients of correlation of number of institutions with size of institutions, by size of city, are: All Institutions, $-.841$; Food Stores, $-.876$; Eating Places, $-.385$; General Stores, $+.389$; General Merchandise Stores, $-.810$; Apparel Stores, $+.095$; Automotive Stores, $-.789$; Filling Stations, $-.956$; Household, Furniture, and Radio Stores, $-.954$; Lumber, Building, and Hardware Stores, $-.124$; Drug Stores, $-.793$; Other Stores, $-.683$; Service Establishments, $+.566$. Too much importance should not be attributed to these measures of correlation because of the small number of items involved. Nevertheless, they are indicative of a general negative relationship.

of institutions display considerable differentiation in their separate responses to population increase. Eating Places, General Merchandise Stores, Apparel Stores, and Personal Service Establishments increase markedly as city size increases. On the other hand, Food Stores, General Stores, Automotive Stores, Filling Stations, and Lumber, Building, and Hardware Stores grow steadily less important in the institutional structure as population increases. The volume of Drug Stores and Other Stores appears to be relatively unaffected by size of city.

However, when the relation of institutions to population is examined for individual cities in a size-class, it is discovered that the variation within a group of similar sized cities is greater than that between size-groups of cities. The mean per capita sales for all institutions in the city size-class with the smallest volume (5000-9999) is \$400 and that for the city size-class with the largest institutional volume (250,000-999,999) is \$454, giving an over-all range of variation for the nine city size-classes of \$54. But, as may be seen in Fig. 2, the smallest range of variation for total per capita sales among cities within a size-class is \$163 (low \$364, high \$527) in the 1,000,000 and over class.¹⁶ The range of variation increases in each class of smaller sized cities to a maximum of \$1,631 (low \$25, high \$1,656) for cities of 2500-4999 population. Incidentally, these results appear to support what other students have already pointed out, that larger cities are more homogeneous than smaller cities in their institutional structures. But more important, for present purposes, is the indication that there are differences among cities with respect to their institutional structures which are not accounted for by variations in size of population.

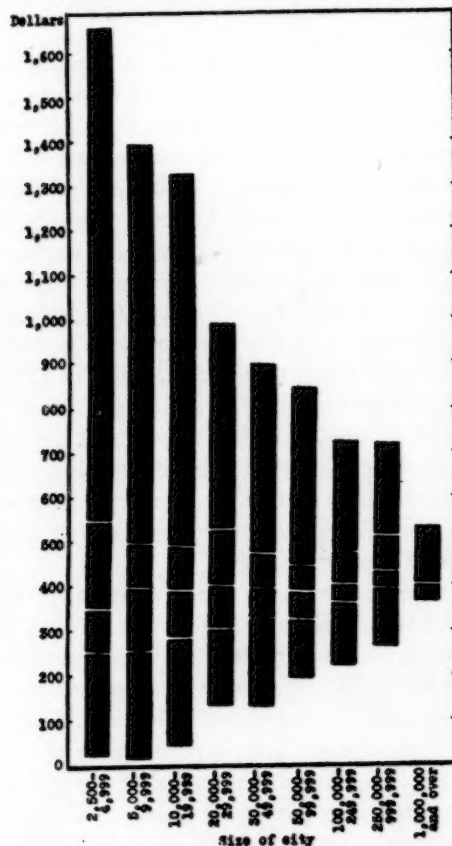
In view of the observed variations in the relationship of institutions and population, consideration is given to the factors income, industrial occupation, age, sex, nativity, and race in order to determine the relative degree of association of each with the institutions in a community. In this it is assumed that different types of populations live in different ways, and that the way in which a population lives is reflected in the institutions which serve it. For example, it is generally agreed that physiological age, however that may be interpreted in a particular culture, is an important limiting factor on what an individual is capable of doing. An old population might be expected to live differently from a young population; old people may have more use for restaurants, drug stores, and personal service establishments, while a young population would likely place a greater emphasis upon apparel stores, automotive stores, or other types of service institutions. Thus it seems reasonable to expect that population differences are more or less closely related to differences in the institutional structures of cities.

Both the size and the location of the city are used as controls in the analy-

¹⁶ The size-class 1,000,000 and over contains only five cities and thus is excluded from further consideration.

sis of the relation of institutional structure to each of the population variables. Location is defined to mean the radial distance of an urban population unit, i.e., city, from another larger population unit. From a preliminary

FIGURE 2. ABSOLUTE VARIATION IN MEAN TOTAL PER CAPITA SALES AMONG CITIES, AND QUARTILE DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES (ONLY MEDIAN SHOWN FOR 1,000,000 AND OVER CITIES), BY SIZE OF CITY, UNITED STATES, 1935



analysis, three distance zones were distinguished, namely, 0-10 miles (Zone I), 10-30 miles (Zone II), and 30 miles and over (Zone III) from larger cities. Cities in each size-class, with the exception of those over 100,000 population, were distributed in the three location classes in accordance with their radial distances from cities larger than themselves.¹⁷

¹⁷ The control of location serves a dual purpose. It is a matter of common knowledge that the population within the corporate limits of a city does not comprise all the individuals who are effective in maintaining the service institutions at the center. Moreover, cities vary, not only with respect to the extent of their trade areas, but also with respect to the attraction

Further, each city in each size-class was examined for its departure from the average for the respective size-class in regard to each population variable. Thus, cities were ranked by income, degree of industrial specialization, kind of industrial occupation, age, sex, nativity, and race. Because of a degree of uncertainty in the data, only those cities were included for study which deviated to a marked degree in either direction from the average for

TABLE 1. PROCEDURE FOR SECURING INDEX OF VARIATION BETWEEN MEAN PER CAPITA SALES FOR SUB-CLASSES OF CITIES: MEAN PER CAPITA SALES FOR ALL INSTITUTIONS IN CITIES OF 2500-4999 POPULATION, CLASSIFIED ON THE BASIS OF INCOME, UNITED STATES, 1935

Subclass of Cities	Class: All Institutions				
	Mean per Capita Sales	Number of Cities	Value of t^1	Absolute Difference between t Values	Index of Variation ²
Whole of size-class ³	\$417	454	—	—	—
Distance Zone I					
High Income cities	355	23	-1.38		
Low Income cities	145	21	-5.82	4.44	144
Distance Zone II					
High Income cities	564	24	+3.35		
Low Income cities	222	16	-3.64	6.99	170
Distance Zone III					
High Income cities	727	11	+4.79		
Low Income cities	234	11	-2.83	7.62	176

$$^1 t = \frac{M_2 - M_1}{\text{S.D.}_1} \sqrt{N_2}; \text{ e.g., } t = \frac{355 - 417}{214} \cdot \sqrt{23} = -1.38.$$

² Value of t for Low Income cities used as base: 100.

³ Standard deviation is 214.

the size-class. From this procedure, High and Low Income cities, Single and Multiple Industry cities, Non-Manufacturing and Manufacturing Industry cities, Old and Young Population cities, Female and Male Population cities, Foreign-Born and Native-Born Population cities, and Colored and White Population cities were identified in each size-class and were further grouped in location classes within each size-class.

The mean of per capita sales was then computed for all institutions together and for each separate type for each subclass of cities. These figures

exerted upon their inhabitants by larger cities. Thus, on the assumption that both the outward orientation of a city's population toward another larger center and the extent of its own trade area are proportional to the size of the city, when location is held constant, it is permissible to relate institutional structure to incorporated population.

were then compared with the respective mean figures for the whole of the size-class and the divergences were measured in terms of weighted standard units. Finally, the difference between weighted standard units for each pair of subclasses of cities was converted into an index of variation. The index of variation is a standardized measure of the excess of average institutional volume in one group over that of another group of cities. This procedure is shown in detail in Table 1.

Proceeding with this technique, it is found that total institutional volume is consistently and pronouncedly greater for High Income than for Low Income cities, although the difference decreases with proximity to larger city and as the size of city increases. For the specific types of institutions, much the same pattern prevails in all cases, but with differentiation in the degree of response to income. It is most pronounced for Eating Places, Automotive Stores, and Household, Furniture and Radio Stores; it is least evident for Filling Stations and Drug Stores. All other types of institutions clearly display the above mentioned pattern. Thus it appears that institutional volume is to a large extent a function of the purchasing power of the community, particularly when the community is located 30 miles or more from a larger center.

Single Industry cities have approximately the same institutional structures as do Multiple Industry cities; or, in other words, institutional volume bears no close correlation with the degree of industrial specialization. Moreover, this lack of relationship seems not to be due to the location of the city; no close relationship appears in cities located in any of the three distance zones. Minor differences exist among the several types of institutions, but these reveal no pattern. Two exceptions to this statement are General Stores and Automotive Stores which become relatively more important in Single Industry cities as the size of city increases. Evidently specialization in the economic base of a population living in an exchange economy is not accompanied by specialization in the services required by that population.

However, in cities where manufacturing occupations are unusually few, the institutional structure is more highly developed than where manufacturing occupations are unusually numerous, and this difference becomes more pronounced as the city size increases. In general, the predominance of nonmanufacturing over manufacturing occupations in a city is most favorable to General Merchandise Stores and Filling Stations. Differences in location of city introduce no observable variation into the relationship of institutional structure with type of occupation, as described here.

Except for the smallest city size-class, Old Population cities possess a notably larger total institutional volume than do Young Population cities. The responses of specific types of institutions to age differences are interesting. The volume of Food Stores and Eating Places is markedly higher where old people are exceptionally numerous. Drug Stores and Personal

Service Establishments become more important in Old Population cities as the size of city increases, while General Stores are most important in Young Population cities. No other type of institution shows an obvious correlation with age composition. Furthermore, the location of the community affects the influence of age in ways associated with the size of the city. The excess of institutional volume in favor of Old Population is greatest in small cities when such cities are located close to larger centers, and diminishes with distance from larger center. Among the larger cities, this pattern is reversed; the difference in favor of Old Population cities is least when the city is located close to another large city and increases with distance from other large cities. Old populations, it appears, are more dependent on institutionalized services than are young populations, a differential which seems to be confined, however, to certain types of institutions.

Sex is also a physiological variable with which different forms of behavior are often assumed to be associated. But the only cities for which there is a noticeable association between sex composition and institutional structure are those located within the 10-mile zone about larger cities. The predominance of females in such cities is accompanied by large institutional volume, particularly in Food Stores, Automotive Stores, Filling Stations, and Personal Service Establishments. This peculiarity may be the result of a concentration of females and wealth in suburban communities.

The nativity composition of a population exerts a limited influence upon the institutional structures of cities. In general, institutional volume is less where foreign-born persons are exceptionally numerous. However, outstanding in Foreign-Born Population cities are Food Stores and Eating Places; in every instance, these are excessively voluminous where there are large foreign-born populations. Presumably, these are the principal types of institutions which specialize in serving the foreign-born. Location differences do not affect the influence of nativity to any great extent.

In cities where the colored population is unusually large, there is considerably less volume in Food Stores, Eating Places, Apparel Stores, and Other Stores, than is found in White Population cities. On the other hand, the institutional structures of Colored Population cities by comparison with White Population cities are over-developed with respect to General Stores and Drug Stores. In other words, Colored Population cities are deficient in the more specialized types of institutions and have excessive volume in the least specialized types. The pattern described here tends to be accentuated in cities located close to larger cities and less marked at greater distance from larger centers.

In summary, Tables 2 and 3 reveal that of the seven factors studied, income exerts the most important influence. Age appears to be second in importance among the smaller cities, while kind of industrial occupation supercedes it in importance in the larger cities. The remaining variables influence

TABLE 2. INDEXES OF VARIATION FOR DIFFERENT POPULATION VARIABLES IN CITIES LOCATED 30 MILES AND OVER FROM LARGER CITIES, BY SIZE OF CITY AND CLASS OF INSTITUTION, UNITED STATES, 1935

City Size-Class: 2500-4999					
Class of Institution (1)	Variable ¹				
	Income	Age	Sex	Nativity	Race
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
All institutions	176	116	111	90	86
Food stores	158	133	97	113	73
Eating places	174	141	68	138	41
General stores	99	133	127	83	141
General merchandise stores	141	71	137	80	116
Apparel stores	150	128	93	87	66
Automotive stores	159	100	124	50	118
Filling stations	137	123	133	56	19
Household, furniture, radio stores	155	67	99	84	82
Lumber, building, hardware stores	142	120	106	77	58
Drug stores	156	82	121	50	120
Other stores	115	127	109	101	79
Personal Service establishments	128	106	110	50	80
City Size-Class: 10,000-19,999					
All institutions	193	145	91	81	43
Food stores	207	169	69	140	22
Eating places	209	148	57	124	25
General stores	100	78	140	65	145
General merchandise stores	130	118	112	75	68
Apparel stores	151	120	114	96	74
Automotive stores	172	121	84	58	66
Filling stations	145	142	103	50	83
Household, furniture, radio stores	122	76	130	68	114
Lumber, building, hardware stores	154	128	81	50	81
Drug stores	142	120	108	28	100
Other stores	178	158	92	124	47
Personal Service establishments	170	142	86	73	73

¹ Industrial occupation data not available for cities of less than 30,000 population.

institutional volume roughly in the following order of importance: nativity, race, industrial specialization, and sex.

Relationships between the several selected population variables and institutional structure have been shown to exist. Each variable exerts a differential influence on the institutions in the community. While every variable does not appear to influence all institutions in all communities, no variable fails to influence certain types of institutions under certain conditions of location of the community.

On the basis of this study, it seems worthwhile to pursue the analysis further in order to explain some of the relationships observed here. For in-

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TABLE 3. INDEXES OF VARIATION FOR SEVEN DIFFERENT POPULATION VARIABLES IN CITIES LOCATED 30 MILES AND OVER FROM LARGER CITIES, BY SIZE OF CITY AND CLASS OF INSTITUTION, UNITED STATES, 1935

City Size-Class: 30,000-49,000							
Class of Institution	Variable						
	In- come	Industrial Speciali- zation	Kind of Industrial Occupation	Age	Sex	Nativ- ity	Race
All institutions	153	109	128	127	81	87	110
Food stores	158	108	101	141	78	128	91
Eating places	155	113	110	132	79	110	87
General stores	126	102	115	50	97	85	121
General merchandise stores	118	112	102	102	88	38	91
Apparel stores	125	107	114	118	110	86	91
Automotive stores	134	99	142	114	80	76	130
Filling stations	125	104	117	127	93	71	134
Household, furniture, radio stores	130	111	110	110	76	88	114
Lumber, building, hard- ware stores	147	93	154	111	78	72	145
Drug stores	136	110	158	112	90	48	142
Other stores	140	112	103	130	83	113	100
Personal Service establish- ments	141	95	139	123	84	87	122

City Size-Class: 100,000-249,999							
All institutions	151	109	136	132	107	70	101
Food stores	144	86	80	137	103	133	70
Eating places	140	100	118	130	104	96	89
General stores	97	140	97	75	107	76	119
General merchandise stores	133	121	134	117	118	83	102
Apparel stores	131	110	119	117	105	90	91
Automotive stores	121	142	167	99	124	19	125
Filling stations	122	108	142	87	108	50	117
Household, furniture, radio stores	120	94	119	96	95	54	126
Lumber, building, hard- ware stores	132	109	129	101	84	72	93
Drug stores	126	100	149	115	116	32	135
Other stores	152	95	109	135	111	96	72
Personal Service establish- ments	152	100	132	140	114	67	100

stance, it is desirable that the relationships be studied with the various population variables controlled. It is likely that in some cases the absence of a relationship is the result of a cancellation of effects. It would also be of value to extend this study to other types of institutions and to include other aspects of population as well.

HAITI'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE*

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ALTHOUGH the social distance between the members of the small, privileged elite and the immense mass of barely subsisting peasants is tremendous, their lives and destinies are closely interwoven in the fabric of Haitian society. Membership in each of these social strata is determined more by birth than by personal achievement and there is a strict taboo on intermarriage. Racially, the two strata have the same general background except that the elite, more than the masses, have mixed with the white race.

Marked social distinctions in Haiti antedate independence. The principal social categories prior to 1804 were the French colonial officials, the white planters, employees of the colonials, free men of color, and slaves. The free men considered themselves superior to the slaves. In their original agitation for political and civil rights, the black masses were given no consideration. The successful termination of the Revolution brought freedom and small tracts of land to the masses and a new aristocracy came into existence. It was composed of the military chiefs with their legitimate and "natural" children, the free men of the old regime, and the mulatto descendants of displaced white proprietors. Despite the prodigious feats of Christophe and the good intentions of Pétion, the emergence of this post-Revolutionary ruling class did not alter materially the situation of the peasant mass.

The elite probably never has constituted more than three percent of the population. Today this means that a group of less than 150,000 persons (25 to 30,000 family heads) in a population of 3,000,000 control Haitian affairs and that actual rule is in the hands of a few hundred men—certainly not more than two thousand.¹ Although many in the elite own tracts of land in rural sections, most of these individuals live in the larger villages, the towns, and the cities.

Divisions within the Elite. Subdivisions within the elite take the form of economic classes, political parties and factions, and cliques. The lines between the three economic groups, which for convenience we may designate as the prosperous, the comfortable, and the impoverished, are not sharply drawn. In the first category are those who have inherited estates of some

* An expansion of the paper presented to the Eastern Sociological Society in April, 1939. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council for the postdoctoral fellowship which made possible the field trip on which the data were obtained, and to M. J. Herskovits, Donald Young, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert E. Moore, J. B. Cinéas, and Maurice Dartigue for valuable suggestions and criticisms.

¹ The distinction between a governing and a nongoverning elite is widely recognized. See V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, III: 1424, New York, 1935.

magnitude, those who have lucrative government or business positions, and those who are professionally successful. The comfortable individuals are those who have received more modest legacies, commissioned army officers, moderately important government officials, and ordinary professional men. The impoverished section of the elite is composed mainly of those whose patrimonies have diminished or disappeared, politicians who are out of office, and professional men whose practices are not flourishing. Some of the professional men in straitened financial circumstances are paying the price for opposing the President, either in the elections or in his administration of affairs after election. These individuals may or may not have been candidates for elective or appointive offices but in case they were candidates, they have lost not only the hoped-for offices but much of their practices as well. People fear to be too friendly with those out of favor with the Power.

There is little or no solidarity within any of the various economic groupings in the elite. This is not to say that Haitians are indifferent to economic success nor that they are insensitive to the variations in income which are found in the upper stratum. On the contrary, they are intensely interested in and surprisingly well-informed about the financial status of friends and enemies and they are acutely aware of their own relative positions. However, since the fortunes of so many members of the elite vary from year to year, according to whether or not they are in favor with the government, distinctions cannot be made too rigidly on the basis of income.

Party affiliation in Haiti is determined more by personal loyalty to particular politicians than by political ideals and party membership is constantly changing. On the surface, the party in office seems to be united and harmonious but actually there are always factional groups within it. The tremendous power of the President silences criticism and prevents open factional action. Factions are also to be found within each of the (frequently ineffectual) opposition parties.

Cliques in Haiti, as elsewhere, are related to birth, income, education, self-interest, and personal predilection, but there are also some elements in the formation of these groups which are more or less peculiar to the Haitian scene. The old dislike between the citizens of the North and those of the West and the South, which goes back to the days of Christophe and Pétion, has not disappeared. Discriminations are made on the basis of color although this is often emphatically denied. One informant said, "One thinks of it always, but no one speaks of it." Color prejudice has a long history in Haiti but a lengthy analysis of it here is impossible. However, to cite only two instances, color consciousness is evidenced in the custom of choosing representatives of all skin-colors in forming a cabinet and in the taboo on black men in the best clubs of Port-au-Prince. In Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien, distinctions are made between the "old" families and those which have arrived recently from the provinces.

Within each village in the interior, the elite tends to be divided into two groups: those who are permanent residents; and those who are stationed there temporarily by the government or by business houses. This division may be seen clearly in Plaisance. The *permanent* elite consists of the following families: agricultural agent; civil officer of the state; collector of taxes for the state; collector of taxes on slaughtering; foreman of public works; justice of the peace; mayor; mayor's staff (two assistants, secretary, office boy); notaries (four); pleaders before the court (six); postmistress; retail merchants (four); secretary to the civil officer; surveyors (five); teacher in girls' school; and truck owners (two). The *temporary* (outside) elite consists of: Catholic priest; farm school staff (superintendent, five teachers, foreman); "great" merchants; lieutenant of the Haitian army; supervisor of agricultural agents; and supervisor of rural schools. Of the local families, ordinarily those of the mayor, the civil officer, and the justice of the peace have the highest social positions while the lieutenant's family probably has the best rating in the outside group. In both instances, however, standing depends in part on the families from which the individuals come. For example, in Plaisance the civil officer is a descendant of J. B. Chavannes, a martyr to the cause of Haitian independence, and the teacher in the girls' school, as well as one of the retail merchants, are descendants of Baron Vastey. Such important ancestors contribute greatly to one's status in Haiti. There is considerable cohesiveness within the resident families and some, although less, among the outsiders. Intragroup antagonisms are not entirely absent nor are some friendly intergroup relations. The bases for such unfriendliness as exists between these two groups within the elite of a village are the urbanism and higher incomes of the nonresidents and the family connections, prides, and traditions of the permanent residents.

One's total social status within the elite, then, is a complex matter and is based much less on income than is the case in some class societies. One treats as social equals those who compare favorably to oneself in birth, education, political affiliation, and cultural interests; social superiors and inferiors are rated accordingly.

The Haitian Middle Class. The diminutive middle class includes small shopkeepers, rural coffee buyers, lesser government employees, and a few artisans. It is considerably smaller than the elite and is relatively unimportant in the life of the nation. In this respect, the Haitian situation reminds one of Dawson's remark to the effect that there was no middle class in ancient Egypt but simply the tax-paying fellahin and the tax-receiving government.² Members of this class, like those in the elite, are nonrural dwellers and some are to be found in every village and town. The middle class in Plaisance, a typical village of the North, had approximately the

² C. Dawson, *The Age of the Gods*, 155, New York, 1928.

following composition in 1937: artisans (four cabinet makers, thirty tailors, five dressmakers, four shoemakers, one mattress maker, three barbers, ten bakers, two jewelers—primitive goldsmiths and silversmiths capable of making wedding rings and silver chains—and six butchers); communal employees (two); mail carrier (Plaisance to Pilate); noncommissioned army officers and privates (two corporals, two sergeants, and six privates); nurse; public crier; rural school teachers (seven); small coffee buyers; small merchants (fifteen); and the telephone operator. Within this class, probably the noncommissioned army officers and the rural school teachers have the highest standing, although position here, as elsewhere, depends to some extent on the individuals involved.

The officers of the American Occupation hoped that by taking new blood into the Technical Agricultural Service, the Garde D'Haite, and other governmental agencies, they could strengthen the middle class. In 1937, it appeared that this effort to develop a buffer class between the elite and the mass had not been very successful. It remains to be seen whether the reorganization of the rural schools will result in the growth of a strong middle class with its own mores and traditions or whether, in the struggle for power and distinction, ambitious climbers will simply cling to the coat-tails of those in the old elite.

The Haitian Mass. The mass is divided into two groups of unequal size. About five percent of the whole population is an urban proletariat which consists of those employed in personal and domestic service and the unemployed. Subgroupings within the nine tenths of the population which constitutes the rural mass are difficult to discern. A country man may endeavor to conceal his true economic status by purchasing several small rather widely separated tracts of land or by refraining from wearing good clothing. The theory behind such behavior is that it will keep jealous neighbors from persecuting him with harmful magic. Nevertheless, there are well-to-do peasants, poor peasants, the *malheureux* (men who cannot find work or who meet with misfortune if they do obtain jobs), and beggars.³ All rural dwellers, regardless of degree of prosperity, tend to have like interests, but there is little or no solidarity within any of the substrata of the rural mass.

The Foreign Population of Haiti. The total number of foreigners in Haiti probably does not exceed four or five thousand at the present time. While nearly all of Haiti's foreign population is concentrated in the cities (principally in Port-au-Prince), one does find a few foreigners in the smaller towns and in the larger villages. The French are the most numerous of the Europeans, largely because of the presence of Catholic priests, brothers, and sisters. However, there is a sprinkling of French merchants, a few plantation owners of this nationality, and of course, the diplomatic representatives

³ My observations on subdivisions within the mass in Plaisance bear out those made by Herskovits at Mirebalais (*Life in a Haitian Valley*, 86-87, New York, 1937).

of France. Germans and Syrians constitute the bulk of the foreign merchants. In former years, they handled much of the retail business as well as the greater part of the importing and exporting but recent laws⁴ have reduced their volume of retail trade. In 1937, there were three German physicians and a German photographer residing permanently in Port-au-Prince and in addition there was the usual contingent of diplomats. There are a few English, Canadian, Belgian, and Italian families, but taking the foreign population as a whole, they are relatively unimportant and the same may be said for the few individuals of Chinese and Japanese origin. Most of the several hundred immigrants from other parts of Latin America are skilled or unskilled laborers rather than business or professional people. The American group consists of a few business men, members of the diplomatic and consular staffs, and assistants of the Fiscal Representative.

While foreigners exert some influence on national affairs, they certainly do not dominate Haitian politics, as is the case in a number of Latin American countries. The Catholic Archbishop and the Bishops, all French citizens, manifest an interest in the nation's educational programs. The Fiscal Representative, an American charged with overseeing the amortization of a bond issue sponsored by foreign investors, advises the government on taxation, budgets, and legislation of an economic character. The nationals of other countries seem to affect the determination of Haitian policies very little.

The members of each nationality limit their social contacts to some extent to those of that nationality but naturally there is some crossing of national lines. There is practically no social sharing between Syrians and Haitians or between Syrians and other non-Haitians. The Syrians are therefore the most severely isolated of all the foreign groups. Generally speaking, those from the United States remain rather well insulated from other foreigners and from the Haitian population. The high barricades erected by Americans in other Latin American countries have been raised by the Americans in Haiti. Newcomers fall into line with the racial mores of Mississippi or take the social consequences; the result is that nearly all conform. Business and official contacts and formal calls are permitted but other types of social relations are taboo. Americans as a group seem to know less and to care less about the country than do those of other nationalities. Many have lived in the island for years without having visited Cap-Haitien or any of the other principal towns. A number of German men are married to Haitian women and the Germans appear to know more about Haitian life than other foreigners do. The French exceed the Americans in their association with Haitians but most of their contacts are of a casual sort.

The attitudes of Haitians toward the various groups of foreigners is

⁴ The original law of 1935, with subsequent revisions, provides that only those who are Haitians by birth may sell certain articles at retail.

worthy of some note but in discussing this matter one must distinguish between the reactions of peasants and of members of the elite. The peasants I knew who had worked for or come into contact with foreigners invariably ranked these nationalities in this order: Americans, English, Germans, French, and Syrians. (Canadians, Belgians, and Italians were not usually mentioned because of their small numbers.) The principal reasons for the high standing of Americans among the peasants are that they pay generously and "they treat you like a man." Some peasants say that the French are next to the Syrians in parsimoniousness and that they are hypocritical on the race question. The French seem to stand highest in the estimation of the elite because of the sympathy which most of the elite have for French culture and because of the prestige of the French representatives of Catholicism. Some of the younger members of the elite, especially those who have received some of their education in the United States, have acquired a liking for American culture. German merchants are denounced by some of the elite for the part they are alleged to have played in the past in promoting revolutions by lending money at fantastically high interest rates to ambitious military leaders. There is also a widespread feeling, deserved or undeserved, that the Syrians have engaged in dishonest business practices.

The position among Haitians of a white person who has a Haitian spouse seems to depend largely on his personal qualities. In the foreign groups, attitudes toward intermarriage vary markedly. An American who marries a Haitian is a complete outcast of the American "colony," but the French and the Germans have a higher tolerance for intermarriage. There are very few marriages of Haitians and Englishmen, Italians, Syrians, Chinese, Japanese, and other West Indians. Upper-class Haitians stigmatize those who marry Martiniquians or other West Indians.

The Haitian Social Structure and Haitian Culture. Linton makes the point that in a strong "class" system each class becomes almost a separate society.⁵ This appears to be true in the situation under discussion. The mutual dependence between social stratification and everything else in Haiti may be demonstrated by a brief examination of certain concrete aspects of Haitian society.

Haiti is supposed to have a representative form of government but actually it has been a democracy in name only. The peasants have no conception of political issues and they have almost nothing to do with government. Some of them vote, but this means nothing because it is impossible for a candidate for any office to win unless he has the endorsement of the President. One Haitian writer has said: "In spite of our Constitution which determines and limits his power, the chief of the State in Haiti is everything. Everything comes from him and everything returns to him." The President

⁵ R. Linton, *The Study of Man*, 127, New York, 1936.

uses the various forms of power—force, domination, and manipulation⁶ to attain his ends—and these are applied to the members of the elite as well as to the peasants.

The real incomes of families in the elite are not high compared with the real incomes of similar families in the United States but on the average they are far above the typical peasant family's income. I estimate the average family income in the rural sections of the Commune of Plaisance at about \$200.00 per year—and that includes both produce and cash. Some peasants were obtaining barely enough food to keep them alive, while the largest income for a peasant in that region in 1937 was around \$400.00 or \$500.00. The highest income for a member of the elite in the nearby village was \$3000.00. In the next village, however, one who was a coffee-buyer, money-lender, and landholder was said to have an income of \$7000.00. Naturally, some of the elite in the larger towns have even larger incomes. These, however, are not common.

In the past, almost the only honorable careers for those in the elite were politics, law, medicine, and the army. In recent years, a small but slowly increasing number have been entering other professions such as teaching and engineering but the commercial field is still disliked by the elite. It has been stated above that the overwhelming majority of the ordinary folk are farmers. On the average, these peasants own four or five acres and most of them devote all their time to the cultivation of their own small holdings. However, some also work as day laborers and sharecroppers when they have suitable opportunities.

One striking and decisive cultural difference between elite and mass in Haiti is language. The language of the elite is French while the peasants speak a patois called Créole. The aristocrats understand the peasants but the peasants do not understand French.

We have referred earlier to the limited kind of social sharing which occurs between the members of the two main social strata through the Catholic religion. However, while many peasants are *vodunists* as well as Catholics, very few members of the elite have anything to do with the *vodun* cult or know anything about it.

There are considerable differences between the family life, educational experiences, diversions, and health practices of elite and mass. Concubinage rather than legal marriage is the rule among the peasants. In the Commune of Plaisance, less than one fifth of the children who were baptized by the Catholic priest in the years 1926, 1931, and 1936 were the offspring of parents who were legally married. While practically all children in the elite receive formal education, less than one fifth of all Haitian children are in school. The elite who can afford it send their children to private schools

⁶ H. Goldhamer and E. Shils, "Types of Power and Status," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, September 1939, 171.

conducted by French Brothers or Sisters rather than to urban public schools. Most of the peasant children who go to school are enrolled in rural public schools.

Some members of the elite go to cock fights but they do not join the peasants at social dances nor at *vodun* ceremonies and the peasants are excluded from participating in the diversions of the ruling class.

Morbidity and mortality rates are higher among the common folk than among the elite. While most of the privileged people rely on medical doctors and remedies purchased at pharmacies, the majority of the peasants still depend on *bocors*⁷ for the treatment of disease.

Such matters as exclusion from places of public accommodation and residential segregation, which are sources of Negro-white antagonism in the United States, are not problems at all in Haiti. Economic differences prevent questions of this sort from arising. Railroad facilities in Haiti are meager and there is almost no railway passenger traffic. Separation in transportation is automatically taken care of because the elite travel by automobile while the peasants go on foot, on horses or burros, or in the rough-riding camions which traverse the country.

The Social Bonds between Elite and Mass. Ambivalence characterizes the attitudes of elite toward the mass and of the peasants toward the elite. The majority of the individuals in the elite always have had mixed feelings of disdain and paternalism for the inert and inarticulate peasants. Those in the rural mass distrust, hate, and fear the members of the upper stratum but at the same time they to some extent envy, respect, and even admire them. Since there must be some control of the mutual antagonisms between groups in any social structure and since the elite and the mass are not brought together in actual interdependent working relationships on plantations or in factories, we must look elsewhere for the social bonds which prevent open conflict. Patterns of dominance and deference inherited from the colonial period are definitely integrative factors. The division of labor whereby the peasants produce and prepare foods, furnish a crop (coffee) which yields high taxes, and do all manual labor, while the men in the elite administer the affairs of state and provide professional services, is another source of stability in the social order. Religion is also a factor in the collaboration of elite and mass. *Vodun*⁸ is still the religion of many peasants but most of them are also at least nominally Catholics. While one may doubt that these rural folk have assimilated much Catholic doctrine, elite and mass do assemble in the same church edifices and this common (but not identical) worship is conducive to some identification of interest between the two major social strata.

⁷ Practitioners of magic.

⁸ The hybrid religious cult of Haitian peasants, the beliefs and practices of which have been derived from African tribal religions, Catholicism, and European witchcraft. See Herskovits, *op. cit.*, Part III.

Vertical Mobility in Haiti. No society is perfectly rigid⁹ and we have no desire to portray the Haitian social structure as more inflexible than it really is. The membership of the elite has been augmented from time to time by persons from the mass but many of these newcomers have been military adventurers who have participated in successful revolts against existing governments. Such individuals have been able to educate their children and to establish them as members of the elite. One does not get into the elite by accumulating wealth. A peasant who has more money or land than the average man of his position or indeed more wealth than some members of the elite is simply a rich peasant. One does not become a part of the aristocracy by marriage since there are almost no marriages between elite and peasants. In the rare cases which do occur, the higher status is not conferred upon the spouse of humbler origin. However, some of the "natural" children¹⁰ of the elite have been admitted to at least a few segments of the charmed circle. This is especially true if the bastard has attained some success. In such cases, impressive genealogies may be constructed to bolster up those who were previously despised and scoffed at. It should be emphasized that such cases are exceptional rather than usual and that it is by no means easy for a "natural" child of one of the elite to achieve a place for himself in the higher estate. It sometimes happens, although very infrequently, that a *Ti-moune*¹¹ takes the place of a son in an upper class family.

The color factor is of some consequence in perpetuating status lines in Haiti but this criterion is indefinite and it alone is inadequate for the maintenance of these lines. In addition to skin color and various related physical traits, there are other elements which enter into the relationship between visibility and vertical immobility. No one would mistake a member of the elite for a peasant even though he were poorly clothed and seen under unfavorable conditions. Those in the elite have dignified bearing, pride, and elegant manners, and their behavior cannot be simulated by peasants or by most middle-class Haitians. Another factor which contributes to the comparative rigidity of the social structure is the spatial immobility of the whole population but especially of the peasants. The majority of the latter live not only in the Communes where they were born but in the sections of the Communes which were their birthplaces. Thus, social status is fixed and well known because that of the parents is known. Spatial mobility is greater in the elite than in the mass but even here it is insignificant. Because of the small size of the country and of the dominant group, it is impossible for one in the elite to move to another community and "start all over." His past

⁹ P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, 141, New York, 1927; and C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, 210, New York, 1909.

¹⁰ A "natural" child is one born to persons who are not legally married. In the present context, it refers to the offspring of a member of the elite and a *placée* (peasant concubine).

¹¹ A *Ti-moune* is a peasant child who goes to live with a family in the elite and who performs various kinds of work in return for his meals, clothing, and a place to sleep.

history and that of his family either precede or closely follow him and his total status in the new residence is not liable to be greatly unlike that which he had in his original home.

The chances for peasants in general to climb into the elite, first by passing into the middle class and then into the upper stratum, are rather slight.¹² Furthermore, the vast majority of the peasants are fatalistic about their station in life, and apathetic toward town residences and nonagricultural pursuits for themselves or for their children.¹³ Their ambitions lie in such directions as acquiring more land and additional livestock, being able to enter into legal marriages, arranging advantageous marriages for their children, and, in some cases, having more *placées*. A realistic examination of Haitian peasant life reveals that the American Occupation, the recent work of rural school teachers, public health physicians, agricultural agents, and army officers have not as yet modified appreciably either the objective aspects of the Haitian social structure of the nineteenth century nor the attitudes associated with it. The prediction of future developments along these lines is beyond the scope of this article.

In summary, then, the social structure is a key factor in Haitian life. Haitian political forms and tactics, economic inequalities, occupational opportunities and disabilities, the language problem, educational differences, discrepancies in family behavior, religious life, and health practices, are all functionally related to this structure. It helps to make Haiti what it is and the various features of Haitian society and culture contribute to the maintenance of this social structure.

¹² J. Lobb states, "Caste and Class in Haiti," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1940, 23, that "The stratification of Haitian society is, in pattern, that of a caste system . . . while in function it forms a class structure." Apparently "function" is used here in a popular sense to mean the way the structure operates. Hence, Haitian society has a certain type of social structure, namely, a caste structure, but it operates as if it were a class system. If this were really the case, the structure would have been modified drastically long ago. Actually, it seems that the author of this article does consider Haitian society as a class system: ". . . it is composed of two clearly delineated classes . . . (23); the social stratification of Haitian society forms a class structure . . . (25); these two classes . . . (25); . . . the Elite as a class . . . (26); . . . upper-class status . . . (26); lower-class status . . . (26); . . . in each class . . . (26); . . . the two classes . . . (26)," etc.

¹³ My findings on this point are in agreement with those of the Director of Rural Education, Maurice Dartigue. See Service National de la Production Agricole et de L'Enseignement Rural, *Bulletin* 13, 1938, "Conditions Rurales en Haiti," 11.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN AN ARAB VILLAGE

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ANYONE WHO is fairly well acquainted with life in the Arab countries of the Near East realizes that the center of gravity of their culture lies in the village community. Between 70 and 80 percent of the people are farmers who live in villages. In the Lebanon Republic, for example, the three communities that manifest the general characteristics of urban life are Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli. These have a combined population of about 200,000, as compared with a little less than a million for the whole country. In the interior section, which is now called Syria proper, the main urban communities are Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, and Hama. These have a combined population of about 800,000, as compared with some 3,500,000 for the whole country. In Palestine and Transjordan, the proportion is similar. In Iraq, the rural proportion is even higher.

Aside from the mere number of people, which is in favor of the village community, the economic life of the Arab Near East centers primarily upon the agricultural production of the village people. Modern industrial activity, with its concomitant factory system, as it is manifested in many countries of the West, exists only in a very rudimentary form.

Now, this village community, the vital significance of which was briefly indicated above, has been, for the past fifty years or so, subjected to various types of contact with what may be termed "Western Culture." Some of these contacts have been consciously and purposefully established by interested groups from outside—religious, political, and economic. Others have developed in an indirect, unconscious manner. However, these contacts with Western culture have been influential, to a great degree, in bringing about essential changes in the cultural and social organization of the village community.

This study (of which the present article is one phase) attempts to analyze and interpret the manner in which the village responded and adjusted itself to the various factors of change during the past fifty years. The analysis cannot hope to be exhaustive, for too many factors are involved. Therefore, a choice had to be made of those events or movements that have loomed most significantly in the life of the village people. This choice has not been based upon the writer's preconceived notion, but rather upon what the villagers consider as significant events in the history of their village during this period of fifty years. With reference to these significant events or movements, the analysis of social change will be made.

Four such events or movements have been chosen for discussion and

analysis: the Introduction of the Silk Factory; the American Protestant Mission and Education; Emigration; and the Political-National Movement. The present article will deal with one of these events—the Silk Factory.

Only one village community, in the north of Lebanon, is covered by the study. It was believed that concentrating on one village and approaching it from all its aspects, present and past, would result in deeper insight into social change than by spreading the study thin over a number of communities. Also, one community could be taken as grossly typical of the Arab village, or at least of the Arab village in the Lebanon area.

The village of Bishmizzeen in the north of Lebanon was chosen for the study, because of the fact that it is the home of the writer. He grew up in it and has kept in intimate contact with its life during the past twenty-five years. This put him in a favorable position to understand the subtleties and complexities of its cultural and social organization. At the same time, he has spent periods away from the village, comparatively free from entanglements in its affairs, so that he was able to approach it with a reasonable degree of objectivity.

The study covers a period of fifty years. It was believed that this was long enough to show, in general outline, the trends of social change in the village since most of the contact with the West had occurred during that period. At the same time, enough sources of information were available in Bishmizzeen to insure reasonably fruitful results for the investigation. Especially significant among these sources were the elderly people, between the ages of sixty and ninety, who are now living in the community.

The Silk Industry Before The Silk Factory. The silk industry existed in the village long before the fifty-year period under consideration. In fact, it always has been an integral part of the village economy, like the olive industry. As is well known, the silk industry flourished in China during ancient times. During the eighth century, it was spread by the Arabs over their empire (including Lebanon and Syria) and from there, it was introduced into Southern Europe.¹

It is interesting that the people of Bishmizzeen to some extent have been conscious of the fact that the silk cocoon came to them from China. The elders tell the story, which they had heard from their ancestors, about a certain Chinese princess who was the first to succeed in smuggling some of the silk moth eggs out of China. The princess, who was given in marriage to a prince from a neighboring foreign country, hid some of the precious tiny eggs in her hair and succeeded in introducing the industry

¹ Gaston Ducouso, *L'Industrie De La Soie En Syrie*, 36-37, Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, 1913.

E. Maillot and F. Lambert, *Traité sur a le Ver Soie du Murier et sur le Murier*, 22-24, Coulet et Fils, Montpellier, 1908.

into her adopted country. This story, as told in the village, was later corroborated by some specialists who investigated the history of the silk industry.² Such a case seems to be a clear illustration of the role which a simple material culture trait can play in developing conscious cultural contact between people who may be thousands of years and thousands of miles apart. As far as can be ascertained, that was the only conscious contact (up to about 1880) the village people ever had with the concept "China" or "Chinese." Through the silk egg and the story that went with it, the horizon of the village was so widened as to include, to a certain degree, the significant symbol "China." One may say that they became identified with the symbol "China" to the extent they were conscious of the behavioral patterns demanded from them by the silk industry as being "Chinese."

Carrying this analysis a little further, it seems that the diffusion of culture traits from one people to another may or may not involve any conscious identification between the two cultures concerned. In the case of the silk industry cited above, one may infer that such conscious identification took place to a certain degree. While, on the other hand, in the case of tobacco and maize, which are familiar to the villagers, there is no evidence of any such conscious identification. They believe tobacco and maize always have been indigenous to the village and they never have been (up to the last two generations) conscious of the concepts "Indian" or "American" with which maize and tobacco should be intimately associated.

Rise of The Silk Factory. 1. The Beginning. During the early part of the 19th century, a man named Haik, with his one or two sons, settled in the village. His original home was Muheidetheh, a small village in the neighborhood of Beirut, the chief city of the country, about sixty miles south of Bishmizzeen. Unlike the early family groups who settled in the village, this man did not come from a farming background. His dominant role, to which he and his son devoted themselves, was that of a trader. Trading in silk, in response to a rising demand from the West, especially France, was then beginning to flourish through the seaport of Beirut. Haik had had some experience in that trade and in the rising significance of profit and cash value. With this new background and new value, he approached the village. He saw in its simple silk industry a profitable resource for exploitation.

He established for himself a regular spinning wheel on the outskirts of the village and began to spin silk for himself and for other farmers, as did the few other villagers who owned and knew how to operate wheels. But Haik went a step further, which step was destined to remove the silk industry from within the limits of village economy. He began to go around, within Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages, and buy the farmers' silk, paying them in cash. Then, towards the end of the season, he would sell the accumulated silk in Beirut at a very good profit.

² Nejib K. Shoucair, *The Silk Worm*, 4, Lebanon, 1899 (in Arabic).

This new trading activity awakened in the village people a new outlook, around which they began to weave a new pattern of behavior. Instead of raising silk primarily for family consumption as they raised wheat, olives, and grapes, they began to raise silk primarily as a cash crop. Thus, cash became a need or a value in itself through which various other needs or values could be satisfied at the same time. The more cash they had, the more new luxuries they could buy at Tripoli or Beirut. Ultimately this led to the creation of a new form of prestige in the village, the prestige attached to the possession of cash money. This new symbol of prestige was destined to compete and conflict with the previously established symbols of prestige in the village—land ownership, successful farming, physical strength and bravery, generosity, old age and kinship solidarity.

In this connection, it should be revealing to relate a little story told in the village about Elias Barakat who established himself in the village at that time, and who, following the footpath of Haik, became active in the silk trade. One day, he presented himself in the neighboring village of Btirram with the intention of choosing a bride for his son from an influential kinship group. After the usual complimentary overtures, the elders of the kinship group raised an objection to the proposal by hinting about his unknown kinship background (being a relatively newcomer to Bishmizzeen). In response to this, the infuriated Barakat pulled out his money bag, full of gold and silver coin, and flung it on the floor saying, "This is my origin and this is my kinship group"! He won the girl for his son.

2. *The Silk Factory in Beirut and Tripoli.* Haik, Barakat, and a few others, gave the first impetus to this new movement of trading in silk. At the same time, those few individuals who began to take occasional "adventurous" trips to Beirut came back with stories about silk factories being established in the neighborhood of the town. They told about the new "marvelous" mechanism by which one man could turn ten or twenty wheels at a time, instead of only one, as the people in Bishmizzeen did. The people in Bishmizzeen began to dream of establishing such a "wonderful" thing in the village, whereby their silk production would multiply to unbelievable limits and their cash income increase in the same proportion.

Then a few years later, about 1875, news came to the village that one such factory had been established in the neighboring town of Tripoli. A few adventurous young men from the village moved to Tripoli and enlisted as workers at the factory. They came back to the village with more stories about the "marvelous" new mechanism and its "unlimited" productive capacity. More than that, they spoke about the new machine with authority, because they knew about its secrets and they knew how to handle it. At the same time, they showed cash, plenty of it, the new value that was rapidly rising to significance and power. The stage was fully set now—a strong desire, a luring value, and knowledge of the secret. Why could not Bishmizzeen start its own factory?

3. *The Factory Invades Bishmizzeen.* The Haik group again took the lead in this new adventure. In fact, it was only natural that they should bring to completion a process that had been started by their ancestor. About 1880, one of them realized the dream that had stirred the imagination of the village for several years. On his property on the outskirts of the village, he built the first factory of Bishmizzeen. It was a very simple and crude construction, consisting of a shaky shed and ten wheels, but to the villagers, in those days, it was the marvel of marvels. The wheels were connected so only one man instead of ten was needed to turn them at the same time, while ten men fed the wheels (which turned with "dazzling" speed) with cocoon threads. Also, one fire with one boiler instead of ten fed the receptacles in front of the wheels with hot steam. The few remaining old timers of the village still describe with vividness how the whole village of Bishmizzeen, people from neighboring villages, and the governor of the district gathered to witness that unique phenomenon.

Within a short period, the Haik factory proved a success. They tore it down and enlarged it to the capacity of twenty, then forty wheels. They were rapidly getting rich. The Mufarrij group followed the Haik example and started their factory. A little later, the Elias group started their factory, followed by Milky and Mina. Thus, within the short period between 1880 and 1895, five silk factories sprang up in the little village to shake it violently into a new organization then to shake it again in a more devastating manner when rayon doomed the native silk industry.

Definition of the New Situation and Reorganization. 1. *The Factory a Kinship Group Enterprise.* The kinship group always has been the basis of community organization in the Lebanon area. When the factory appeared, a conflict arose between this new activity and the kinship group structure. On the one hand, the kinship group organization, as in various farm activities, demanded a certain degree of cooperation, a sharing in the responsibilities and fruits of the activity undertaken. Emphasis was laid upon the kinship group, or its compound family units,³ rather than upon the enterprising individual. On the other hand, the silk factory came from a background which emphasized individual profit. A conflict was inevitable and an adjustment had to be made.

It can be assumed that the village people, at the beginning of this new movement, were not aware of the demands it was going to make upon the village organization. They had to make the necessary adjustments the best

³ A distinction must be made between (1) the biological family, consisting of husband, wife and children and (2) the compound or joint family, consisting of the paternal grandparents, the father and mother, an average of five or six children, paternal uncles with their wives and children and unmarried paternal aunts. Sometimes, all of these live together as one household, consisting of about ten to twenty individuals. Also, these two forms must be distinguished from (3) the inclusive kinship group, consisting of all individuals who bear the same paternal ancestral name.

way they could—sometimes modifying the new activity in accordance with the patterns of their organization, sometimes adapting their organization to the demands of the new activity. In the case under consideration (conflict between the kinship group and factory), the people achieved a harmonious and satisfactory adjustment.

In the first place, not a single factory was started as one individual's enterprise. On the other hand, not a single factory was started as a full kinship group enterprise. In each case, one enterprising individual took the initiative, backed by the whole compound family unit. The members of this compound unit stood solidly behind the factory, undertaking it as a cooperative activity, just as they undertook farm activities. They shared equally in the responsibility (to the extent of selling their farm land when necessary), in the effort, and in the produce. One of them, usually the oldest brother, was the recognized leader and the rest followed. In the second place, the villagers always referred to each factory not as the factory of Mr. Haik, or Mr. Mufarrij, etc., but as the factory of Beit (House) Haik, or Beit Mufarrij, signifying the ownership of the kinship group. In the third place, the usual reciprocal relationships of duty and obligation between the compound family and the kinship group were transferred to the factory situation. Members of the larger kinship group were proud of the factory owned by one of their compound units and were always eager to see it successful. They also were willing to help the owners in times of need. On the other hand, it was understood in the community that owners of the factory were expected to give employment preference to the members of their kinship group.

2. *The Village Girl Works at the Factory.* During the first few years, the village people could not reconcile themselves to the idea of having their girls work at the factory. That was too great a departure from their mores. The girl's sphere of activity was limited to the house and the family farm. To work at the factory meant the girl was stepping beyond the safety of those prescribed limits. That was dangerous, and its consequences uncertain. Moreover, working under the supervision of others for the whole day was a challenge to the authority of the parents. Also, for a girl to seek employment was a reflection that she was in need and that her people could not take care of her.

Thus, during the first few years of the silk factory movement, work was entirely limited to men. The supervisors, the guards, the stokers, those who sorted the cocoons, those who steamed them, those who turned the wheels, and the workers at the wheels—all were men. However, this could not last long. As the capacity of the factories increased, more labor was needed than the men could supply; girls had to be employed. Another factor was the discovery that girls were more efficient at certain activities, especially the main activity of feeding the wheel with thread. Perhaps the most decisive

factor was that the girls could be hired at lower wages. This satisfied the main motive of the factory system, profit, and also coincided with the mores of the group which assign a lower economic status to women.

Within five to eight years, a complete transition from man labor to woman labor and a stabilized adjustment in the division of labor were effected. At first, the girls of one kinship group worked at the factory of their own group; then they took the full step and began to work at other factories. Subsequently, specialization of work crystalized in the following manner. Activities involving hard work—steaming the cocoons, stirring them in order to dry, stoking, turning the wheels and supervision—were assigned to men. Women took care of the two main activities of sorting the cocoons (unskilled labor) and feeding the wheels with thread (highly skilled labor). It should be noted that women were barred from the supervision although it was within the limits of their physical capacity. Supervision carried with it the prestige of a leader, a boss, and the village mores would never permit such a status to a woman.

Eventually, problems involving sexual morality began to arise. Girls stayed away from home almost every day, from sunrise to sunset. They were "on their own," away from the supervision of parents. At the same time, they worked in close proximity to young men. The two sexes came in close contact in a new situation to which they were not accustomed. Occasional scandals took place, involving love affairs of which the parents did not approve. Village gossip enlarged upon these affairs and the families concerned were bitterly hurt by it. However, they had to put up with it, for the girl's work at the factory meant cash for the family and cash already had become a highly significant value. Later on, we shall see how this factor helped in the creation of social stratification by dividing the villagers into those whose girls worked at the silk factory and those whose girls did not.

3. *Social Stratification.* Before the silk factory, the village consisted of a harmoniously integrated group with no class distinctions and differentiations. Its kinship system, one church to which everybody belonged, and one single type of economy in which everybody shared, left no room for social stratification. With the advent of the silk factory, this harmony began to show some signs of disruption and social stratification became evident.

During the first few years, all village girls were equally eligible and equally permitted to work in the factory. Later on, after the factory owners began to accumulate wealth, they tended to prevent their girls from going to work in the factory; instead, they sent them to schools for higher education in Tripoli and Beirut. This resulted in the creation of two more or less clearly defined classes—those who were well-to-do and whose girls went to high school and those who were poorer and whose girls worked in the factory. Even now, one may hear a mother scolding her daughter by saying "Are you going to behave like a silk factory girl?" On the other hand, one would

hear the remark, "She is a school girl now; we cannot hope to have her marry our son!"

As the silk factories flourished, this social stratification was extended beyond the village limits. With five factories active in the little village, it meant that not only the immediate owners of these factories, but also the majority of the village people were getting well-to-do and accumulating cash. At that time, the village schools began to flourish, including high school, and a mania for education took the village by storm. Everybody wanted to have his children educated and looked toward a bright future for them. From that time on, the majority of the labor supply for the Bishmizzeen silk factories began to come from the neighboring villages of Kafer-Hazier, Afasdik, and Amyoon. This tended to create what may be termed an intervillage social stratification. The Bishmizzeen people began to feel that they were above and ahead of other villages. They owned the silk factories and educated their children in schools, while other villages worked for them. Table 1 indicates to what extent labor at the factories was supplied by neighboring villages. The table is based upon figures obtained from the old books of the Mufarrij silk factory. Interviews with the past owners of other factories indicate that the figures are fairly representative of the whole situation.

TABLE 1. SOURCE OF LABOR SUPPLY IN THE MUFARRIJ SILK FACTORY AT BISHIMIZZEEN, 1911-1913

Year	Source and amount of labor supply		
	Bishmizzeen	Other Villages	Total
1911	32 ¹	31	63
1912	17	46	63
1913	5	21	26
Average	18	33	51

¹ Figures are numbers of workers, not percentages.

It must be made clear that social stratification did not go beyond what has been stated above. The relationships between the two strata were not strained in any serious manner. There was no indication of the existence of any labor-capital problem and the relationships between the two classes outside the factory consisted of so many ties—kinship, neighborliness, village community, and church—that they could not be severed by the new tendency toward social stratification. The workers were willing to work in the factory from sunrise to sunset without the slightest complaint. That was how they worked on the farm and the factory was no new departure in this respect. At the same time, they were free to work in any one of the five village factories; thus, competition tended to keep up wages. This gave rise

to a very interesting phenomenon, a rudimentary form of labor organization. The working girls in Bishmizzeen and other villages began to divide into small groups of twenty to thirty members each centering around the personality of a supervisor and upon his kinship ties with his followers. The supervisor became the spokesman of his group of working girls and he tried to get for them and for himself the best wages and the best conditions of work. On the other hand, the factory owners took a paternal attitude toward the workers. The workers were not strangers and many of them belonged to the kinship group of the owners. On very rare occasions one could hear a working girl addressing the owner as Mr. So and So. Usually, she would refer to him or address him as Uncle So and So.

The Destruction of The Silk Industry. 1. *Rayon Destroys the Silk Industry.* About 1925, rayon (artificial silk) appeared on the market. The people of Bishmizzeen did not dream of what would happen to them when they departed from their isolation, with its self-sustaining economy, and tied up their destiny with that of the outside business world. They used to control their village economy, when they were in a state of relative isolation; they could not realize that by plunging into the silk business their destiny would be controlled by unknown hands and unknown forces; nor did those who commercialized the rayon process realize how it would affect the lives of people in the remote Lebanon area and the little village of Bishmizzeen.

Within a few years, about 1928, the practical success of rayon was proved. Its quality competed with the quality of natural silk and its cost of production was far less. Almost overnight, prices dropped precipitously, between 75 and 80 percent. The drop began in the French market, with which Bishmizzeen was tied up. The village people gasped in utter bewilderment. They did not know how it came about and much less did they know what to do.⁴

The drop in prices was universal, in all markets and countries. The following figures show the continuous drop in the price of Italian silk (prices are given in lires per kilogramme):⁵ 1925, 354; 1928, 235; 1931, 85; 1934, 34; 1938, 138.

2. *They Go On, Trusting and Hoping.* The first reaction of the people to the crisis was to believe it was temporary and to hope better times would follow. They had such an experience during the war of 1914-18 when prices dropped as a result of the closing down of outside markets. After the war, prices rose and they hoped prices would rise this time, too. However, after two or three years, no recovery took place: they realized the situation was hopeless and began to give up.

It is highly significant to note that, in the face of this crisis, no appeal

⁴ Around 1925, the farmer in Bishmizzeen used to get 125 piasters for one "Oke" (little over a kilo) of cocoons. In 1931, the price dropped to about 15 piasters per "Oke."

⁵ Adapted from *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics*, Rome, 1928-1939.

was made to Providence through the church. By that time, the villagers had become too sophisticated to resort to such appeals. They had lost much of their previous faith in that superhuman realm which used to inspire them with a feeling of security in times of crisis. Despite this sophistication, they might have resorted to the Deity if it had been a case of traditional crisis—drought, plague, or locusts, for example—but the new crisis was not tied up with that traditional practice. The whole silk business was their own creation and they felt responsible, with other human beings outside the village, for the crisis. It was maintained on the human level from beginning to end and no appeal to the Deity could be made.

3. *The Silk Factories Crash.* One after another, in a dramatic manner, the five silk factories crashed. The owners of the factories liquidated their business with heavy losses. More farms were sold and heavier debts incurred. Bankruptcy descended upon the village.

In the summer of 1939, when the writer took a walk from the village to the factory section where once activity hummed at a maximum rate, he saw three factories standing in ruins, empty and desolate, and no trace left of the other two.

Some of these factory owners are still living in the past. They have not yet been able to make the necessary adaptation. They have lost their land, and have descended to a lower economic status but they still can relive the glories of the factory days—the number of wheels they had, the quality and amount of silk they spun, the business celebrities they met through the factory, and the number of young people from Bishmizzeen and other villages who worked for them.

4. *Factory Workers Are Jobless.* Out of a job! Unemployed! Before the advent and subsequent crash of the silk industry, no one would have dreamed of hearing such words within the village boundaries. The land offered its bountiful produce to everyone who cared to work and the kinship group was there to see to it that everybody worked and everybody shared in the blessings of life; yet the village lived to see the day when the silk factories, in their crash, set loose a large crowd of young men and women who did not know what to do with themselves. The Arabic term for unemployed is *'Atil*, signifying "useless."

The five factories used to give employment to 300 to 400 workers. About two thirds of these came from neighboring villages and the other third from Bishmizzeen. That number was a significant proportion of a population of about 1,200 people, including old folks and small children. When these were set loose, the village organization was further shaken. Various problems—financial, social and moral—began to arise. For example, gambling began to appear although it never before had existed in the village. Quarrels and misdemeanors by young people showed an increase and the social control of the kinship group and the church became less effective.

However, there still remained some integrity of village organization which partially redeemed the situation. Some of the young people were gradually absorbed into what remained of farm activity, for it must be remembered that the silk factory workers had never severed themselves completely from farm life. The majority of them sought employment outside the village, especially in the neighboring town of Tripoli. Others took the path of migration to foreign lands.

5. *Weaving Looms Are Destroyed.* Previous to the crash, almost every compound family unit in the village possessed a hand loom for weaving silk and cotton cloth. The loom was worked by one or more elderly women of the family unit. Through this activity, the family was supplied with much of its clothing and the house with some of its decorations and furniture. Some of the silk cloth was sold. Moreover, about four or five village women specialized in weaving silk, transforming the activity into a well paying business. They became well known all over the district and the village took pride in their skill.

With the crash of the silk industry, weaving came to a dead stop in the village. Looms were neglected and destroyed and the village women are still bewildered by the big gap created in their accustomed pattern of behavior. At present, there is only one woman in the village who weaves. Tenaciously, she has stood by the old loom of the family. Since the early days of her childhood, she has been trained in the use of the loom. Her grandmother and her mother were well known weavers. In fact, her mother was the best weaver in the whole district. The daughter still lives up to the standards of a lost tradition.

6. *Disruption of Balanced and Stable Farming.* Up to the advent of the silk factory, the farmer in Bishmizzeen had balanced his farm activities in a harmoniously diversified manner. The land was his main source of existence and the village was his main world. He had to depend directly upon the land for the satisfaction of his needs and his simple needs were the needs of all other members of the village community. Consequently, he diversified his agriculture so he was able to care for most of his needs locally. He was satisfied because he was not conscious of any needs that could not be satisfied by his simple agriculture. In a comparatively short time, the silk factory disrupted his balanced economy.

In the first place, it gave him cash which opened for him a new realm of hitherto undreamed needs. In no time, cash became a value in itself, a need to be satisfied. To get more of it, he could no longer depend upon his established system of farming. He found it more profitable to neglect his cereals and sometimes his orchards and to concentrate upon mulberry trees. That marked the beginning of his dependence upon the outside world for the satisfaction of newly created needs and old needs that he used to satisfy locally. He was dragged into the midst of a current that was beyond his control and he had no idea of its future consequences.

Secondly, the establishment of a silk factory required an initial expenditure that was, in most cases, beyond the cash means of those compound families who made the attempt. They had to get money from the outside, either by selling a portion of their farm land or by mortgaging it for a loan. That was the most drastic step taken in response to the demands of the silk factory. By taking such a step, the farmers concerned made a full departure from their traditional way of living. They literally cut the solid ground from under their feet and plunged into a new type of activity that was beyond their control and comprehension. Their center of interest shifted from the farm to the factory and the farm was neglected or deserted. At the same time, selling the land or mortgaging it to a stranger from the city was a direct attack upon the land as the supreme value, the major symbol of identification in village life. A new value, cash, came to the foreground and replaced the old value, land. With that shift, the integration and stability of village life, which had been for generations built upon land as a major value, were badly shaken. A strong tie with the past was severed and the farmer turned his face towards the outside world. This shaking of village stability and integration was further increased by the fact that the city stranger who bought the land or held it in mortgage, had no special attachment to it. He did not share in the villager's behavior towards that land. To him, it meant nothing more than its worth in cash.

In the third place, this shift from a condition of stability to one of instability in village life was further accentuated by the speculative character of the silk business. Previous to the advent of the factory, the housewife raised her cocoons every season with a feeling of certainty about the outcome of her effort. She raised the cocoons, she spun the silk thread, and she wove it into cloth for family use. The process was simple, clear, and fully under her control. When the silk factory made the cocoon crop a cash crop and tied it up with the world market, that certainty and stability of behavior vanished. Depending upon the fluctuations of the market price, the family might get plenty of cash for their crop one year and the next year, very little. They were not sure what to expect and the tendency was to set the high prices of one year as their standard and spend beyond their means. The effects of this fluctuation was felt still more keenly by the silk factory owners who handled the bulk of the business. They tended to expand and spend beyond their own means of control. Consequently, almost every one of the five factories suffered heavy reverses more than once, even to the extent of bankruptcy. This meant more drastic sale of farm land in order to sustain the silk business. Up to that time, bankruptcy had never occurred in the village. In fact, this term had never existed in the village vocabulary.

The following figures show how many plots of land in Bishmizzeen were owned by "strangers" (people from other villages) in the summer of 1939: Amyoon, 111; Btirram, 82; Kafer-Hazir, 63; Tripoli (town), 23; Afsdik, 19; Kilhat, 7; others, 11. Thus, 316 plots (one to two acres) out of 1775 in the

whole village are owned by outsiders. With the 1459 plots owned by villagers as a base, over 20 percent of the holdings are in the hands of "strangers." Before the advent of the silk factory, only a few outsiders owned land property within the territory of Bishmizzeen.

7. *The Farmer Loses Faith in Farming.* As has been shown above, in response to the demands of the silk factory, the Bishmizzeen farmer leaned heavily upon the silk crop to the neglect of other farm activities. The silk crop became the staple crop of his farm economy. When the crash came, his economy and the whole of his farm life were thrown into a condition of chaos and discord. Thus far, he has not been able to recover from the effects of the blow. His mulberry orchards, which took him years to cultivate and grow, became suddenly worthless. The leaves can be used to feed cattle but that is a very poor substitute for the income from the cocoon crop. A good portion of his time and that of his wife was spent on the cocoon crop activities. These activities no longer exist and he and his wife are still dumbfounded by the resulting emptiness. Moreover, large cash income from the silk crop accustomed him over a period of years to the enjoyment of new luxuries. It created for him new needs that he must satisfy. The income is gone but the needs are still there demanding satisfaction. Consequently, the farmer cannot be induced to revert to his pre-factory economy when he raised cocoons for local use. That type of economy cannot satisfy what he craves at present.

Some of the farmers are beginning to face the inevitable by cutting down their mulberry trees and planting something else in their place. However, they do this with great reluctance. They hate to cut down the old mulberry tree. They hate to see the effort of long years suddenly wasted. They have neither the heart nor initiative to begin anew.

Because of the silk industry crisis and other factors, one gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bishmizzeen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration.⁶

⁶ The writer was struck by the illuminating similarity between what happened to the Arab village of Bishmizzeen, due to the rise and fall of the silk industry, as discussed above, and what happened to the American Community of Waterville, N. Y., due to the rise and fall of the hop industry. See J. M. Williams, *An American Town*, (1906).

ACCULTURATION AND MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS*

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ROBERT H. LOWIE has recently called our attention again to the problem of messianic movements among the American aborigines.¹ Among the North American Indians, one of the fundamental myths was the belief that a culture-hero would one day appear and lead them to a terrestrial paradise.² Under certain conditions, which this paper will describe and analyze, these myths have become the ideological basis for messianic movements. In the messianic movement, the ushering in of the "golden age" by the messiah is announced for the *immediate* future. Twenty such movements had been recorded in the United States alone prior to 1890.³

The messianic doctrine is essentially a statement of hope. Through the intervention of the Great Spirit or of his emissary, the earth will shortly be transformed into a paradise, enjoyed by both the living and the resurrected dead. In anticipation of the happy return to the golden age, believers must immediately return to the aboriginal mode of life. Traits and customs which are symbolic of foreign influence must be put aside. All members of the community—men, women, and children—must participate. Besides reverting to the early folkways, believers must adopt special ritual practices until the millenium arrives. Thus, in the *American Ghost Dance* movements ceremonial bathing and an elaborate dance were the chief ritual innovations.⁴ The doctrine always envisages a restoration of earthly values. These values will be enjoyed, however, in a transcendental setting, for in the age which is foretold there will be no sickness or death; there will be only eternal happiness. The messianic doctrine is peaceful. The exclusion of the whites from the golden age is not so much a reflection of hostility toward them as a symbolization of the fulfillment of the former way of life. The millenium is to be established through divine agency; believers need only watch and pray.⁵

* I am indebted to Robert K. Merton for aid in this study. Increase of interest in acculturation is shown by two recent publications, both originating in the Sub-Committee on Acculturation of the Social Science Research Council: Herskovits (1938) and Linton, ed., 1940. The footnotes refer to the appended bibliography where the sources are cited in full.

¹ Lowie (1940). ² Fletcher (1891), 58.

³ Chamberlain (1913). Here may be found also accounts of five new religions for Mexico and Central America, and four for South America. The best detailed summary of the early American movements is in Mooney (1892). Macleod (1928), 507, says that messianic movements among the American Indians have been "more numerous . . . than among any other race or people or culture save the Jews." See also, Wallis (1918), 150 ff.

⁴ These elements, and other ritual practices as well, varied from tribe to tribe in accordance with divergent cultural backgrounds. For a detailed description of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, see Mooney, chapter 15, *et passim*. There are other descriptions in the sources cited herein in other connections.

⁵ Sometimes, however, messianic movements passed over into physical violence. The preachings of the Delaware Prophet, for example, were used by Pontiac in his war against the whites. See Parkman (1886). On the Sioux outbreak of 1890, see Mooney, chapters 12-14.

The general sociocultural situation that precipitates a messianic movement has been loosely described as one of "harsh times." Its specific characteristic is the widespread experience of "deprivation"—the despair caused by inability to obtain what the culture has defined as the ordinary satisfactions of life.⁶ The fantasy-situation pictured in the messianic doctrine attracts adherents chiefly because it includes those things which formerly provided pleasure in life, the loss of which constitutes deprivation. The pervasiveness of the precipitating cultural crisis may be inferred from the broad range of sociocultural items to be restored in the golden age. For example, one of the Sioux participants in the Ghost Dance experienced a vision of an old-fashioned buffalo hunt, genuine in all details. He said that he had beheld the scouts dashing back to proclaim the sighting of a herd.⁷ Now, the killing off of the buffalo was probably the greatest blow to the Plains Indians. Another bitter grievance was the expropriation of the Indian lands and the segregation of the tribes on reservations; removal to a new geographical setting had more or less direct repercussions on every phase of the culture. For example, the prophet Smohalla promised, among other things, the restoration of the original tribal lands.⁸

Deprivation may arise from the destruction not only of physical objects but also of sociocultural activities. In the aboriginal Sioux culture, millions of buffalo furnished an unlimited supply of food. Buffaloes and their by-products were perhaps the most important commodity in the Sioux economy, being employed as articles of exchange, as material for tepees, bedding, war shields, and the like. In addition, the buffalo was the focal point of many ritual and social activities of the Sioux. When the buffaloes were destroyed, therefore, the Sioux were deprived not only of food, but also of culturally significant activities. The tribal societies concerned with war and hunting lost their function and atrophied. The arts and techniques surrounding the buffalo hunt, arts and techniques which had once been sources of social status and of pride in "workmanship," were now rendered useless.⁹

The impact of the white culture, besides depriving the Indians of their customary satisfactions, adds to their suffering by introducing the effects of new diseases and intoxicating liquor. In 1889, the Sioux suffered decimating epidemics of measles, grippe, and whooping cough.¹⁰ It is significant that Tenskwatawa prophesied that there would be no smallpox in the golden age.¹¹ Complaints about the evil influences of firewater were expressed by "Open Door"; by "Handsome Lake," the Iroquois Prophet; by the Delaware Prophet; and by Kānakuk, among others.¹²

The messianic movement served to "articulate the spiritual depression"¹³

⁶ See Nash (1937). As used by Nash, "deprivation" is the complementary term to "indulgence." Nash borrowed the concepts from Lasswell (1935).

⁷ Lowie (1925), 188 ff.

⁸ Mooney, chapter 6.

⁹ See Lesser (A), 45-49; also, Lesser (B).

¹⁰ Mooney, 820 ff.

¹¹ Macleod, 519.

¹² On "Open Door," see Macleod, 517; on "Handsome Lake," see Hodge (1907), 309.

¹³ Macleod, 505.

of the Indians. Those groups which faced a cultural impasse were predisposed to accept a doctrine of hope. Correlatively, the tribes that rejected the doctrine were in a state in which the values of their old life still functioned.¹⁴ In a condition of anomie, where there is a disorganization of the "controlling normative structure,"¹⁵ most of the members of the group are thrown out of adjustment with significant features of their social environment. The old set of social and cultural norms is undermined by the civilized culture. Expectations are frustrated, there is a "sense of confusion, a loss of orientation,"¹⁶ there is no longer a foundation for security. At such a time, messianic prophecies are most likely to be accepted and made the basis of action. Messiahs preach the return to the old order, or rather, to a new order in which the old will be revived. Essentially, their function is to proclaim a *stable order*, one which will define the ends of action. Their doctrines describe men's former life, meaningful and satisfactory.

The stabilizing function of the messianic movement may be illustrated in specific cases.¹⁷ Investigation of the 1870 and 1890 North American Ghost Dance movements shows that they are correlated with widespread deprivation. The two movements, though they originated in the same tribe, the North Paiute of Nevada, spread over different areas, depending upon the presence or absence of a deprivation situation. A comparison of the two movements makes the relationship clear-cut. The Ghost Dance of 1870 spread only through northern California;¹⁸ the tribes in that area had "suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890."¹⁹ In 1890, the Ghost Dance once again spread from the North Paiute, but this time not to California. By 1875, the movement there had exhausted itself and was abandoned.²⁰ All the dancing and adherence to the rules of conduct had failed to bring the golden age. Disillusionment supervened upon the discovery that the movement was an inadequate response. The alternative response seems to have been a despondent and relatively amorphous adaptation. The Indians "had long since given up all hope and wish of the old life and adapted themselves as best they might to the new civilization that engulfed them."²¹ The 1890 movement did spread to the Plains tribes because by 1890 their old life had virtually disappeared, and the doctrine of the Ghost Dance was eagerly adopted for the hope that it offered. The radical changes among

¹⁴ Lesser (A), 58.

¹⁵ Parsons (1937), 377.

¹⁶ *Idem.*, 334.

¹⁷ Messianic movements which have occurred elsewhere than in North America are outside the scope of the present paper. The following literature, however, may be consulted: Métraux (1928), 217; Moszkowski (1911); Nimuendaju (1914); Williams (1923); Chinnery and Haddon (1917); Driberg (1931); and MacDonald (1890).

¹⁸ Gayton (1930).

¹⁹ Kroeber (1925), 868; see also Kroeber (1904), 32-35.

²⁰ All the California tribes were not affected in the same fashion. The Karok and the Tolowa participated more intensely than did the Yurok. Moreover, none of the tribes in the mission area took part. The Hupa, leading a stable reservation life, and the mission tribes, whose life had definitively been made over, had passed beyond a deprivation situation and had made an adequate substitution, in terms of derived satisfactions, for the aboriginal culture.

²¹ Kroeber (1925), 583.

the Plains tribes in the twenty-year period, 1870-90, may best be traced by examining the history of the Teton Sioux. Up to 1868, they were the least affected by white contact of all the tribes of the Plains area. By 1890, however, they were experiencing an intense deprivation situation, the climax of a trend which had begun twenty years before. Especially severe were the years between 1885-90, when crops failed, many cattle died of disease, and a large part of the population was carried off by epidemics.²²

Further corroboration of the positive correlation of the messianic movement with extended deprivation has been presented by Nash. In 1870, the Ghost Dance doctrine was presented to three tribes which had been brought together on the Klamath reservation six years before, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Paviotso. Of the three tribes, the Modoc, who had experienced the greatest amount of deprivation, participated most intensely. The Paviotso, who had experienced minimal cultural changes, participated least of all. Moreover, Nash found that within the tribes the members participated differentially, in rough proportion to the deprivation experienced.²³

A case study of the Navaho furnishes still further support for our thesis. Until quite recently, the Navaho territory was relatively isolated; few roads crossed it and there were not more than two thousand white inhabitants.²⁴ The Navaho had managed to maintain the essentials of their own culture; their economic life had remained favorable; and, from 1869 to 1931, they increased in numbers from less than 10,000 to 45,000.²⁵ In 1864, in retaliation for their marauding, the United States Government rounded up the Navaho and banished them to the Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River. This exile was an exception to the fact that in general they had not suffered deprivation. They could not adapt to the agricultural life imposed on them and begged for permission to go home. Many died during epidemics of smallpox, whooping cough, chicken pox, and pneumonia. After four years, they were given sheep, goats, and clothing by the Government and allowed to return to their own country.²⁶

The equilibrium of the Navaho culture was quickly restored. The tribe grew rich in herds and silver. The old way of life was resumed in its essentials, despite the greater emphasis on a pastoral economy. The deprivation situation of 1864-68 was left behind; life was integrated around a stable culture pattern. In the winter of 1889-90, when Paiute runners tried to spread the belief in the coming of the Ghost Dance Messiah, their mission was fruitless. "They preached and prophesied for a considerable time, but the Navaho were skeptical, laughed at the prophets, and paid but little attention to their prophecies."²⁷ There was no social need of a redeemer.

Within the last fifteen years, however, the entire situation of the Navaho tribe has changed. There has been constantly increasing contact with the

²² Mooney, 824 ff. A detailed account of their vicissitudes may also be found in Lowie (1925), 188 ff.

²³ Nash (1937).

²⁴ Lindquist (1923), 275-85.

²⁵ Woehlke (1933), 2.

²⁶ Amsden (1933).

²⁷ Mooney, 809.

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white culture. Automobiles and railroads have brought tourists. The number of trading stores has increased. The discovery of oil on the reservation has produced rapid changes. Children have been sent to Government schools, far from their homes. Since 1929, the depression has reduced the income from the sale of blankets and silver jewelry. By far the most important difficulty now confronting the Navaho is the problem of overgrazing and soil erosion. To avert disaster, a basic reorganization of the economic activities of the tribe is necessary.²⁸ Therefore, the Government to meet this *objective* condition, has introduced a soil-erosion and stock-reduction program but it has been completely unsatisfactory to the Navaho. Stock-reduction not only threatens their economic interests, *as they see them*, but undermines the basis of important sentiments and activities in the Navaho society. To destroy in a wanton fashion the focus of so many of their day-to-day interests cuts the cultural ground from under them.

Thus at present the Navaho are experiencing widespread deprivation. Significantly enough, within the past few years there has been a marked emergence of anti-white sentiment. Revivalistic cults have appeared.²⁹ There has also been a great increase in recourse to aboriginal ceremonials on all occasions.³⁰ Long reports of Navaho revivalistic activities were carried recently in *The Farmington Times Hustler*, a weekly published in Farmington, New Mexico. These activities bear a detailed similarity to the Ghost Dance and other American Indian messianic doctrines.

Despite the positive correlation of the messianic movement and deprivation, there is no one-to-one relation between these variables. It is here suggested that the messianic movement is *only one of several alternative responses*.³¹ In the other direction, the relationship is more determinate; the messianic movement is comprehensible only as a response to widespread deprivation. The alternative response of armed rebellion and physical violence has already been suggested. The depopulation among the natives of the South Pacific Islands may be viewed as still another response. The moral depression which, it often has been held,³² is one of the "causes" of the decline of the native races may be construed as a mode of reaction to the loss of an overwhelming number of satisfactions.

The theory of alternative responses may be tentatively checked against another set of data. The Ghost Dance among the Plains tribes lasted little more than a year or two, coming to a sharp end as a result of the suppression of the so-called "Sioux outbreak" with which it adventitiously had become

²⁸ Wohlke, 4.

²⁹ This statement is verified by data in an unpublished paper by Clyde Kluckhohn.

³⁰ Kluckhohn (1938), 359.

³¹ See Lasswell for a modified psychoanalytic categorization of the possible alternative responses to deprivation. In Lasswell's terms, if we shift from the individual to the group level, the messianic movement is an "autistic" response.

³² See Rivers (1922) and Pitt-Rivers (1927). LeFevre (1931) argues the thesis that a certain minimum of liberty is necessary for continued interest in life. For a discussion of this point, see Sorokin (1937), III: 174-76.

connected in the minds of the whites. The Government agents on the Indian reservations successfully complied with their instructions to exterminate the movement. However, the deprivation of the tribes remained as acute as ever. It is in this context that the Peyote cult emerged and spread among the Indians *as an alternative response*. It became the focus of a marked increase of attention and activity after 1890, thus coming in approximate temporal succession to the Ghost Dance. Completely nonviolent and non-threatening to the White culture, the Peyote cult has been able to survive in an environment which was radically opposed to the messianic movements.

The general and specific sociocultural matrices of the Peyote cult are the same as those of the messianic movements. The Indians

Fifty years ago, when Peyote first became known to them³³ . . . were experiencing . . . despair and hopelessness over their vanishing culture, over their defeats, over the past grandeur that could not be regained. They were facing a spiritual crisis. . . . Some turned to Peyotism, and as time has but intensified the antagonistic forces, more and more have become converted to the new religion which offers a means of escape. . . .³⁴

The Peyote cult, like the messianic movement, was an "autistic" response, in Lasswell's terms, but the essential element of its doctrine was different. Whereas the Ghost Dance doctrine had graphically described a reversion to the aboriginal state, the Peyote cult crystallized around passive acceptance and resignation in the face of the existing deprivation. It is an alternative response which seems to be better adapted to the existing phase of acculturation.³⁵

Thus we have tested the hypotheses that the primitive messianic movement is correlated with the occurrence of widespread deprivation and that it is only one of several alternative responses. There is a need for further studies, especially in regard to the specific sociocultural conditions which produce each of the possible responses.

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³³ Actually, the use of peyote among the natives of Mexico was reported as early as 1569, but until 1890, "peyote spread at most to only five or six tribes north of the Rio Grande; . . . since 1890 it has been carried to some thirty additional tribes." See Shonle (1925), 54. The most complete bibliography on peyote may be found in LaBarre (1938).

³⁴ Petrullo (1934), 27.

³⁵ A more extended discussion of the Peyote Cult by Mr. Barber will appear in the *American Anthropologist* in the near future.—R. B.

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METHODS OF MEETING DOMINATION: THE CZECHOSLOVAKS*

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THERE ARE certain unsettled periods of history when underground political movements flourish. We are in the thick of such a period now. Such movements are born of "new thought," political or religious grievances, or the desire to shake off foreign domination. They produce secret societies and various other agencies, which, in the case of the Czechoslovaks, have a definite ultimate end: to get rid of Germany's domination and to resurrect in some form, the old Czechoslovak state.

As is usually the case with such nationalistic movements, the Czechoslovak technique can be divided, in general, into two spheres of action: one carried on in various forms of political conspiracy in the present Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia (and to a lesser degree in Slovakia); and the other promoted by Czechoslovaks living abroad under the leadership of the government of Dr. Eduard Beneš at London.

We have, for obvious reasons, only scanty news on the ways and methods of secret societies in Czechoslovakia, but that they exist is evident by the fact that the various Czechoslovak publications of England and America¹ carry news suggesting united and well-timed action by Czech groups in the face of opposition and persecution by the German government. That the experiences of Dr. Beneš in World War I are utilized for the present purposes can also be taken for granted. To get some hints of them, we only need to read Beneš' *Memoirs* and note some of his conclusions such as those pertaining to secret societies which, in Beneš' words "are in fact a regular school of life. . . . All conspirators soon become fanatics. . . . Clandestine action easily attracts men of adventurous spirits, incurable romantics . . . self-seekers also slip in, and weak characters." Beneš, who has spent most of his life among them, should know!

Who belongs to such modern secret societies in Czechoslovakia? Forget the romantic old picture of a conspirator—foreign-looking, sinister, a bomb under his coat, sitting furtively in some low Soho haunt. That is only half true. The typical modern plotter is a respected citizen, perhaps a prominent public figure, the last person whose private life would be questioned. In the present conditions of his country, such a Czech does not have to promote his cause too strenuously, for 99 percent of all the Czechs seem to understand

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¹ *The Central European Observer*, 114-116 Park Street, London, W.1.; "New Flashes from Czechoslovakia under Nazi Domination," *Releases* of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, 4047-49 West 26th St., Chicago; *Czechoslovak*, 54 Kenwick Road, London, S.W. 15; *News from Czecho-Slovakia*, American Friends of Czecho-Slovakia, 8 West 40 St., New York City; *Czechoslovák v Anglii*, 54 Kenwick Rd., London, S.W. 15.

his nationalistic and patriotic aims. In proportion as Hitler has tried to ferret out conspirators with the Gestapo, he has had to learn that it is impossible to stamp out any secret society while general nationalistic discontent remains. We thus hear of the arrest by the Gestapo of the Mayor of the City of Prague, Dr. Otakar Klapka, on a charge of being in contact with a secret Czech group which was organizing a rebellion against the Reich.² But the importance of his position must not obscure the fact that at the end of August, 1940, 854 persons had been convicted in court of "political crimes," 9613 were under "protective arrests," and 43,284 Czechs were in concentration camps at the time, a total of 53,751 individuals obviously considered dangerous by the German authorities.³ The difficulties confronting the agents of Hitler in eliminating underground or semiopen organizations were shown by the dissolutions of the National Solidarity Party in August, 1940, although it was the Germans themselves who had demanded the formation of this party in Bohemia and Moravia after their occupation of the country,⁴ assuming that such an organization would be a totalitarian party serving their interest. But the party became totalitarian only in so far as it claimed 99 percent of the Czech people. The dissolution of the party proved that all attempts at appeasement toward the rebellious Czechs had been futile and that the Czech resistance to Nazi methods and ideas remained unbroken. Their ideological faith was expressed in a leaflet with a wide circulation, which featured a popular poem written by J. V. Sládek, one of the classical poets of the nineteenth century, which concluded:

Like withered grass we'll rise again
With the first warm breath of new born Spring.

The incidents cited indicate that Hitler has tried without any success to rule with the aid of an utterly unimportant group alleged to represent the community, a fact demonstrating the effectiveness of the Czech devices which may be called "the weapons of the weak." The methods of such devices are varied and their classification is very difficult, owing to the wide range of situations under which resistance is made—organized and unorganized resistance, violent, nonviolent, and quasi-violent resistance to special acts or laws and to the entire Hitler system. The Czech techniques of resistance run from the mildest and yet one of the most effective methods, that of grumbling, with intentional gestures and expressions of dissent (such as the refusal of the Czech girls to dance with German soldiers), halting short of overt disrespect, to organized and active resistance related to incidental or intended violence. The latter shade off indistinguishably into various closely related activities: semirevolution and semisecret revolutionary actions; joint economic action and murder with political aspects—behavior which is a characteristic response to repressive absolutist governments which make freedom of speech and open differences of opinion im-

² *The Central European Observer*, August 1, 1940, vol. 17 (new series), p. 114.

³ *News from Czecho-Slovakia*, September 16, 1940, No. 20.

⁴ *News Flashes from Czechoslovakia under Nazi Domination*, August 27, 1940, No. 48.

possible. Thus, in August, 1940, wholesale arrests of workers in Kladno and Králove Hradec district were reported.⁵ Hundreds of former officials and workers in the various trade unions, cooperatives and educational clubs, suspected of sabotage and anti-Reich activities were arrested according to a list furnished by the Fascist Vlastka group, the Czech "Fifth Column." Their crimes consisted of sabotage. For instance, the workers tried to hamper the output of munitions for Hitler by removing, under cover of the blackout, driving belts and essential parts of machinery, thus crippling production for days at a time. November 17, 1939, will be remembered by the Czechs as the day of the massacre of Prague students. Some 150 students were executed and thousands imprisoned by the Nazis, using as a pretext the mass attendance of Prague students at the funeral of Jan Opletal, a student killed by the Gestapo in a riot on the Czechoslovak National Independence Day, October 28.⁶ In spite of a German decree prohibiting the observance of T. G. Masaryk's Day, on September 14, 1940, Czech Boy Scouts staged Masaryk memorial services throughout the country. On that very day of the anniversary of the death of the first President of Czechoslovakia, the Nazis beheaded František Petr for alleged complicity in the killing of a Nazi police sergeant (although the Nazi was murdered by another German policeman in a night brawl over a girl)⁷ and on Sept. 15 carried on mass arrests of the Boy Scouts in the country.

The second aspect of the Czechoslovak technique of meeting Germany's domination is represented by the activities carried on by means of international contacts. Numerous capable Czech political refugees, university professors, students, and journalists have succeeded in escaping abroad, retaining contacts with the homeland and at the same time organizing revolutionary activities abroad. Thus, today no Czech in the Protectorate is allowed to paste the postage stamps on letters or postal cards sent abroad; that is done by the postoffice employees to prevent secret messages written under the stamp from reaching America.⁸

This German worry is related directly to the fact that Dr. Beneš has succeeded in forming his new government in London, with the support of the English government. On July 23, 1940, the Czecho-Slovak National Committee in London received the recognition of the British Government, which launched a national campaign abroad, "fully supported by the 1,500,000 American Czechoslovaks," the committee said.⁹ Among the American Czechoslovaks, the preparatory work had been done by Dr. Beneš while he was visiting professor at the University of Chicago in 1939. Before the World War, there were in the United States more than a million and a half people of Czech and Slovak origin. They learned the techniques of fighting the oppressors of their countrymen in Europe during World War I under Masaryk, who induced them in 1914 to collect funds in support of his revo-

⁵ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1940, No. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1940, No. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, October 22, 1940, No. 54.

⁸ *Ibid.*, October 22, 1940, No. 54.

⁹ *New York Times*, July 24, 1940.

lutionary action against Austria-Hungary and later on took an active part in the movement for the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

With Beneš in Chicago in April, 1939, a definite union of all Czechoslovaks was formed, represented today by the Czechoslovak National Council in America, the Czech and Slovak National Alliance, the Sokol and the organizations of the American Catholics, devoting their efforts to collecting funds (in order to provide financial means for Czechoslovak revolutionary activities abroad), and for propaganda and political work among Czechs and Slovaks as well as among Americans.¹⁰ Agencies were established in all the principal cities of the world to work for Czechoslovak independence through various media. An intercommunication system was set up through which vital information, even of events in Germany, is transmitted to Czech leaders everywhere. A financial reserve is being accumulated to help maintain those Czechoslovak consulates or legations that are still open in a number of important countries including America. The center of the Czechoslovak movement is Chicago, where there are still nearly 200,000 Americans of Czechoslovak origin, and in the states of the Middle West where on farms and in towns there are numerous Czechoslovaks, some of them fairly well-to-do, and wielding considerable influence on public affairs. The Slovak center is Pittsburgh. The movement has at its disposal a widely circulated press which consists of seven daily papers and almost fifty other periodicals.

In summary, the following elements represent the strength of the whole chain of methods of the Czechoslovaks meeting Germany's domination: (1) a well-developed ideology of Czechoslovak nationalism, integrated with the memories of the independence and of the ideals of democracy; (2) the leadership provided by well-trained leaders, and particularly intellectuals, living abroad and strengthened by those who have succeeded in escaping from their homeland; (3) the support provided by the descendants of Czechoslovaks settled in America, as well as throughout the world; (4) the conditions in America and in Britain favoring the promotion of the Czechoslovak cause on their territory, and particularly since the ideology of the Czechoslovak movements runs parallel with the American ideologies of democracy, and, somewhat more vaguely, of the "self-determination of small nations"; (5) the methods learned by the Czechoslovaks learned throughout the centuries of opposing the foreign oppressors, and particularly the memory of the living generations of the successful ways and means whereby Czechoslovakia had gained its independence in 1918.

Even if any or all these elements should fail, we ought to remember that Hitler has not and will not be able to exile, imprison, or execute all the living Czechs, and hence his power over the Czechs will never be omnipotent, and that his technique, based entirely on the excessive use of power, is bound to fail eventually. For "power is not strongest when it uses violence, but weakest—rape is not an evidence of irresistible power in politics or in sex."¹¹

¹⁰ With the exception of the Slovak "autonomists," who represent only about 20 percent of all the Slovaks in America, the Slovaks are united with the Czechs against Nazidom.

¹¹ C. E. Merriam, *Political Power*, 190, New York, 1934.

A STUDY OF THE LEADERSHIP PROCESS

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A FAULT of most leadership studies is emphasis upon the "individual" rather than upon the individual as a factor in a social situation. Such studies seek to determine the qualities of a person which distinguish him as a leader. They imply that these somehow can be abstracted. Difficulties immediately appear. It is discovered that leadership takes protean forms, that it is unstable, that the qualities necessary at one time are unnecessary at other times, that leaders rise and fall as situations change, that the same individual alternates between leading and following. Consequently, leadership becomes a slippery, ill-defined concept. These are commonplaces, but in spite of them, the authors usually fail to sense the root difficulty, viz., the inadequacy of the personality concept as a means of understanding the problem. Leadership is not a psychologically simple concept.

Leadership study calls for a situational approach; this is fundamentally sociological, not psychological. Leadership does not reside in a person. It is a function of the whole situation. The situation calls for certain types of action; the leader does not inject leadership but is the instrumental factor through which the situation is brought to a solution. The emphasis in the title of this paper is not on "leadership qualities" but on the "leadership process." The word "process" calls attention to the interplay of factors in a total situation. The situation is fundamental and in all cases makes the leader. This is obvious in everyday life and in history. The Hitlers and the Mussolinis are made by situations and they can be understood only in terms of those situations. Their characteristics are indicative of the times in which they live and the situations of which they are a part. Groups do not act because they have leaders but they secure leaders to help them to act. In other words, the leader meets a critical need just as a dentist meets a critical need. We go to a dentist because we have a toothache, not the other way around. Skills and abilities of all kinds have a functional relation to the needs of the situation and these needs are always primary. Leadership comes into being when an individual meets certain social needs, when he releases in the social situation of which he is a part certain ideas and tendencies which are accepted by the group because they indicate solutions of needs which are dimly sensed. Leadership is best understood when it is looked at impersonally as that quality of a complex situation which, when lifted into a place of prominence, composes its conflicts and creates a new and more desirable situation.

The concept of "process" is important also in that it calls attention to the

fluidity of the leadership situation. Leadership is not a static thing; it is an immutable aspect of personality. Many of the components of leadership, such as self-confidence and the confidence of the group, which are so essential, change with the situation. The self-confidence of a work leader or of a boys' gang leader usually disappears as soon as these individuals are put into a parlor. Ascendancy, also a leadership component, increases when training is given in handling the materials of a situation. While leadership, self-confidence, ascendancy, and other so-called traits and attitudes, apparently carry over from one situation to another, it is only because the situations have practically identical elements. They are not fixed qualities of a person in any sense, nor are they fixed in the relation of two people, but are functions of a three-cornered relation—between the persons concerned and the job. Shyness often becomes dominance when the situation includes elements in which the individual's skill counts. So-called traits are names of processes; they are fluid; in no strict sense are they "attached" to anybody as "innate" or "acquired" characteristics. While studies of leadership make it appear that leaders usually have certain characteristics which combine under the term leadership ability, this generalization is misleading. Such factors as knowledge, forcefulness, tone of voice, and size are effective components in the solution of many social situations and are, therefore, generally regarded as leadership qualities, especially in unorganized group situations like gangs, but the variety of possible factors is endless. Leadership qualities, so-called, vary indefinitely as the needs of groups vary indefinitely.

A few illustrations will make it obvious that the choice of leaders is dictated by group needs. A group lost in the woods would immediately follow the man who, no matter what his personal qualities, had a knowledge of the woods and the way out. A social group whose needs are conviviality and the pleasant interplay of personalities will be most stimulated by a person who is lively and sociable. The leader of an organization which integrates the functions of other organizations will be a person through whom the leadership drives of others may function; such a person becomes a leader through releasing, channelizing, and integrating the abilities of others. A discussion group leader will be self-effacing, tolerant, critical, and interested in the contributions of others. In the case of the group in the woods, personality, height, weight, and voice count for nothing: the only qualification is a knowledge of the way out. In the case of the social gathering, a personality characterized by peasing vivacity is of major importance. In the third case, the essential characteristic of the leader is ability to release the activities and ambitions of others in a way which will promote the interest of all the groups concerned; in this case, height, weight, and voice would be irrelevant and forcefulness might even be disastrous. In the case of the discussion group, where leadership is of a highly integrative type, dominance

and self-assertiveness, usually thought of as leadership traits, would be fatal. When the great variety of possible groups is considered, leadership appears clearly as a function of the situation. When the situation is simple, as in the case of the group lost in the woods, the demands on leadership are simple, but in complex situations the demands on leadership are multiple.

In order to bring out the meaning of leadership in terms of the situational processes, we may take a case from the study of leaders in work camps. In response to the request that members of work crews describe the characteristics of leaders whom they regarded as successful, the men mentioned things like these: he gets the work done; he explains things to you and doesn't yell at you; he plays no favorites but treats all men alike; he isn't so easy that you can step all over him; he watches out for the safety of the men in his crew.

These are modes of behavior. They are called for by the situation and are, in fact, responses to it. The young men who mentioned these desirable activities were not thinking of traits. So-called traits are derived by grouping these activities which are responses to the situation under classificatory labels or trait names. The first activity, "He gets the work done," is called the trait of "efficiency." The second is called "reasonableness"; the third is called "justice"; the fourth is called "strictness"; the fifth, "carefulness." Obviously, the leader is reacting to a total situation which embraces these elements as well as others. The qualities mentioned are simply names for types of activity which meet the needs of a group, which incorporate and make effective the important factors of the situation, emotional and otherwise. The group takes pride in doing a reasonable amount of work; it desires reasonable explanations; it desires fair play in work assignments; it appreciates the need of necessary strictness; it appreciates care for its safety. Does the leader have these traits? The abstractions mentioned and imputed to the leader as qualities are really descriptions of what most of the members of the work gang desire. The names of the appropriate activities are imputed to him as his characteristics. In short, what has happened is this: (1) the group has certain needs, practical and emotional; (2) the leader responds to the situation as a whole with appropriate activities; (3) those responses are classified and labeled with trait names; (4) these names which are abstractions and summational fictions are imputed to the leader as causal psychological entities.

Confusion in the study of leadership results from endowing abstractions with reality and imputing character qualities to the person who brings the element of control into the situation. We have failed to see the leadership process as an interplay of forces, as an integrative activity. Of course, when types of a leader's integrative activities become habitual, we may call them traits provided we understand that they are activities, and we may try to develop them because these habits of conduct are useful in a large number of situations.

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In summary, leadership is the process of securing direction in social activity which otherwise would be blind and disorderly. Leadership activities are resultants of the interplay of the factors which emerge out of a situation and reenter it as controls. Emphasis on so-called traits of personality, which have been shown to be hypostatized summational fictions, therefore gives way to a study of the integrative factors in the situation. The personality does not stand alone but is a changing element in a total situation. The situation is a concept embracing many elements: the leader with his abilities and drives, the group (including potential leaders), material resources, viewpoints, desires, and needs, and a condition of readiness for leadership. This situational whole is a continuous series of influences and changes. Relativity characterizes every factor. Leading alternates with following. Solutions are new stages in the situation preparing the way for other solutions which in turn call for new types of leadership to secure new ends. Leadership may be defined *as that element in a group situation which, when made conscious and controlling, brings about a new situation that is more satisfying to the group as a whole.*

Techniques for Studying Leadership. The foregoing is by way of viewpoint and definition. Two techniques, among others, suitable for the situational study of leadership, are particularly appropriate because they emphasize the situation. These are job-analysis and sociometry.

Job analysis, which is a technique usually applied to factory jobs and farm jobs, is also applicable to highly social jobs, like teaching. Leadership, also, may be viewed as a job. Preparation for leadership in any group or situation should, therefore, be based upon a job analysis of the needs of the group or the situation. Personal factors appropriate to the situation may then be derived and listed. Leadership activities are as varied as the needs of groups. This correspondence between the situational demands and leadership is shown in the following analyses which also illustrate the technique:

GROUP OR JOB	ACTIVITIES
<i>Discussion Group</i>	<i>"Traits" of Discussion Group Leader</i>
Stimulate participation	Informal manner
Bring out suggestions	Not too talkative
Bring out criticisms	Critical
Supply information	Well informed
Control the argumentative	Understanding of people
Interpret and summarize	Intelligence
<i>Scout Troop</i>	<i>"Traits" of Scout Master</i>
Boys' organization	Youth
Wide range of activities	General ability
Athletics and sports	Athletic ability, size, strength
Games and social activities	Knowledge of games, sociability
Obedience to Scout Law	High personal standards
Scout program	Scout rank and experience

City Adult Education

Work with all kinds of people
 Make policies and programs
 Meet all types of educational needs
 Popularize the "cause"
 Lead on platform
 Coordinate program
 Supervise program

"Traits" of Adult Education Director

Interest in people
 Educational training
 Versatility, imagination, and experience in business or profession
 Salesmanship, presence, reputation
 Ability as a speaker
 Executive ability
 Tact

The listings above are schematic and incomplete and are intended only to illustrate the use of job analysis in securing leaders and to show the leadership process as a response to situational needs. Since the jobs are different, the qualifications of the respective leaders are different. It will be noted that intelligence, interest in people, and other traits are common to all three types of leadership. Because leaders are able to deal with the various factors of situations, they have certain corresponding traits in common. They are, on the whole, brighter, stronger, more energetic, and generally more able than the average. These qualities usually but not necessarily will, characterize leaders. The more important factor is the situation (or the group) in which the abilities and activities of leaders must function satisfactorily. This interfunctioning is the leadership.

The other technique we are considering, *sociometry*,¹ is even more valuable than job analysis in studying leadership because it emphasizes personal factors. Job analysis is ordinarily, though not necessarily, used in dealing with jobs in which specific operations are important. Group leadership, however, involves a much broader series of adjustments in a more complex, more highly personalized, and constantly changing situation and is therefore more useful for our purpose which is to shift attention from the illusory "traits" of leaders to the demands of the situation and the behavior of leaders in meeting those demands. A technique to be adequate must, as far as possible, picture the situational complex with its values, ideals, and pathways of influence.

Sociometry provides a psychological geography of the situation with its network of personal attractions and repulsions. It helps the investigator to see the leaders and the leadership process in the light of the needs of the group. It provides the essential information graphically and quickly. The sociometric technique in the space of an hour or so, by simply asking some practical questions and charting the results, gives information on the character and structure of the group which otherwise would be impossible to acquire without long and intimate acquaintance with the group, if at all. It is particularly important in a situation such as a Civilian Conservation Corps camp where it is impossible to become adequately acquainted with

¹ Technique first described by J. L. Moreno, in *Who Shall Survive*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Number 58, Washington, D. C., 1934.

conditions in the short time at the disposal of the director. Under such conditions, especially when it is necessary to appoint leaders and to initiate other action quickly, the sociometric technique provides an invaluable shortcut.

A sociogram, as seen in the following illustrations, shows many things of interest about a group, including centers of influence, cliques, and grapevines. Valuable as such a graphic portrayal of the situation is, the chief value of the sociogram lies in the fact that it indicates individuals, conditions, and crucial factors which should be made the subjects of further investigation through case studies, life histories, interviews, and other means. The sociogram roughly indicates places where leadership may be looked for. Obviously, not everyone who is popular enough to be the center of concentration of "tele" lines is a leader, but he is a *liked* person and is likely to be a leader of some kind, although not necessarily a good one. By interviews and other means, the nature of the popularity and the group values making it possible can be determined. The sociogram provides a valuable guide to the study of leadership in that it calls attention to those individuals who are centers of influence and who occupy such positions because they satisfy the emotional and aspirational values of the group. As a matter of fact, further study in two camps indicated that those who occupied positions of influence in the sociogram were actually leaders. The group values which give positions of popularity to certain individuals should most certainly be the subject of study.

There are shown here for purposes of illustration two sociograms prepared in different ways, each of which has its particular usefulness in visualizing certain of the relationships that exist in the camp. The first shows networks, cliques, grapevines, channels, and centers of influence and other features of group organization. The second shows only concentrations of "tele" attractions and repulsions, indicating popular and unpopular individuals. These sociograms will be commented upon later.

An understanding of these sociograms calls for a brief description of the CCC camp situation. The camps are situated in field or wood and are engaged in conservation, the improvement of recreational areas, and similar work. During the day, the men, of which there are about two hundred, are under the direction of foremen and a camp work superintendent who is usually an engineer. When they return to camp, they are under the direction of the camp commander. Most of the detailed duties of the camp are delegated to persons appointed as leaders. There are nine leaders and sixteen assistant leaders who receive higher pay and a status corresponding to that of noncommissioned officers. A senior leader is in charge of all other leaders is responsible to the commanding officer for most of the details of administration. He has every activity at his finger tips. He checks up absences in the work gang and has general oversight in assigning duties within the camp.

The appointed leaders are usually men of fair intelligence and general ability. They are invested with the authority of their office. There is an acting leader in each barracks of which there are five. Usually the same leaders function in the work situation and in the camp administrative setup. In the camp situation, as elsewhere, leadership activities correspond to two general types: the authoritarian and the integrative. Integrative leadership is spontaneous and flexible. It incorporates the abilities of the group. It finds common purposes among differences. In contrast, dominative or authoritarian leadership imposes its will regardless of the desires of the group. In a camp situation where it is to the best interests of all that the persons appointed to authoritative positions should be pleasing to the group and thus able to exercise an integrative type of leadership, an understanding of the group's values, i.e., the kind of people it approves and the standards it requires, is essential.

The sociometric technique is applied in a camp as follows. The individuals are told that certain changes in living arrangements are contemplated and they are asked to indicate their choices of other individuals with whom they would like to live, work, and eat, and also the reasons for their preferences. A blank is provided on which each individual may indicate his first, second and third choice of the people he would like to live with, work with, and eat with. Spaces are provided also for three negative choices in each of these situations. By thus presenting individuals with actual choices, their real attitudes toward one another are secured. When this census of choices is completed, the information is summarized in the form of tables showing the first, second, and third choices of each individual, both positive and negative, for each of the three situations together with the reasons in each case. On the basis of such tabular summaries, the sociograms are made up.

Incidentally, the sociometric technique is valuable for its method of securing attitudes. Attitudes are notoriously hard to test with paper and pencil. Individuals will not usually indicate their true attitudes in an interview. The sociometric technique provides a realistic method for determining attitudes. The individuals are faced with the problem of actually choosing their associates, with all that this means to them in terms of comfort in living. To ask a person what he thinks about another is one thing; to ask him to choose a person with whom he desires to live, work, and eat is quite another.

Interpretation of Sociograms. The first sociogram, consisting of networks of tele lines indicates the interpersonal relationships within the group in relation to living quarters only. Leaders occupying centers of influence stand out: Numbers 13, 17, 63, 61 and 3. Number 40 is not a leader, but he is a connecting link between two groups and is important because of this position. Likewise, Numbers 23 and 15 are connecting links. In this sociogram will be seen chains, triangles, pairs, and isolates. In this type of sociogram,

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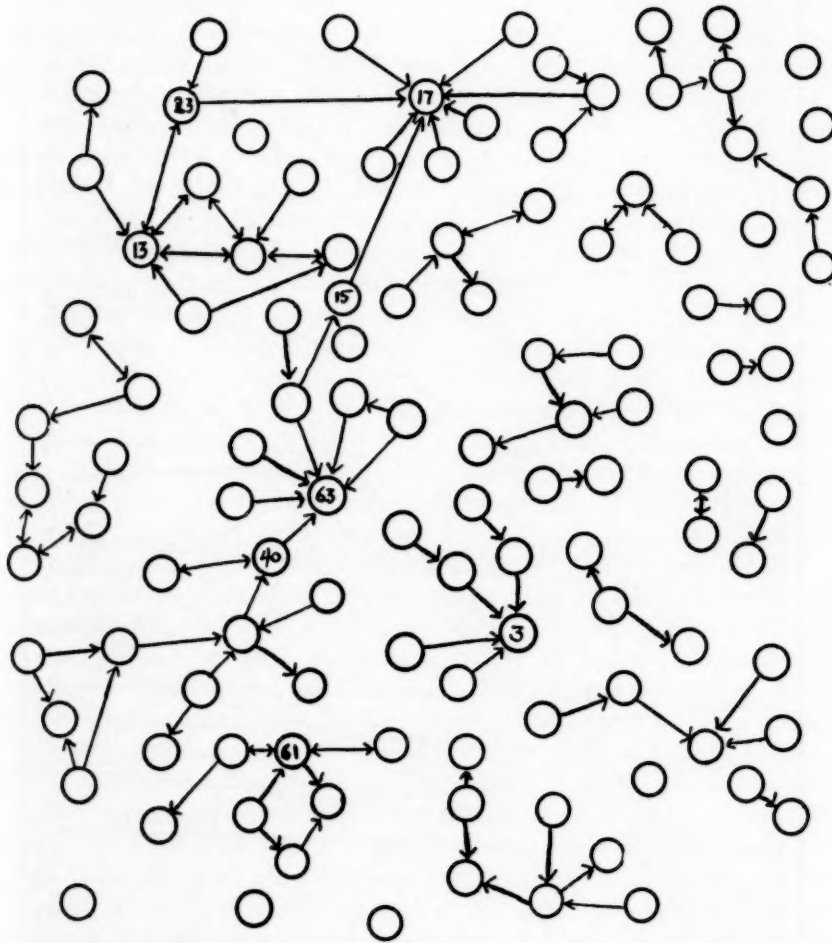


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the groupings and centers of influence with the networks surrounding them stand out. The arrows point in the direction of the attractions. This particu-

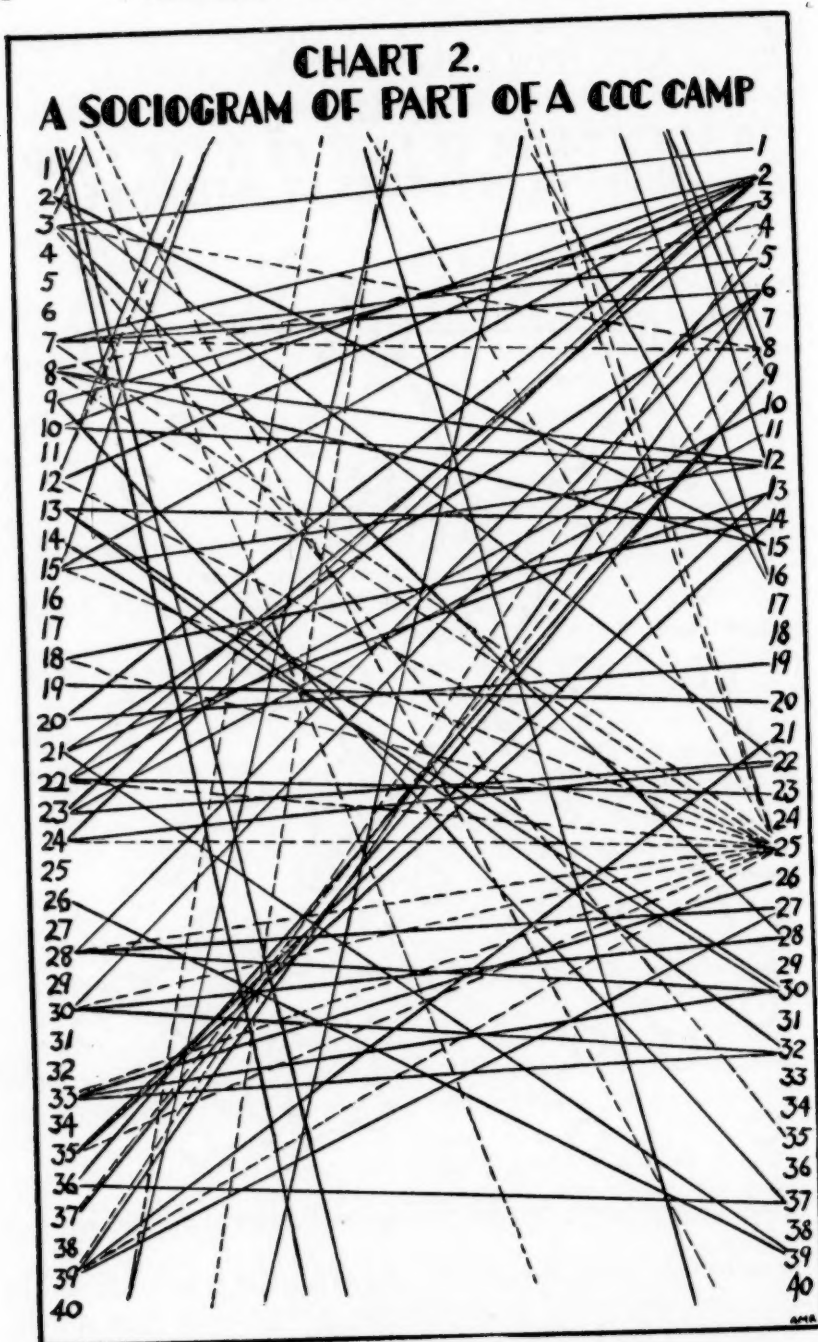
CHART 1.
A SOCIOGRAM OF PART OF A CCC CAMP
SHOWING NETWORKS OF INFLUENCE



lar sociogram shows only two positive choices because of the limitations of space.

The second sociogram is much simpler and is easier to make. It may be used as a first step toward the construction of the network type of sociogram. It consists simply of lines running from left to right indicating attrac-

CHART 2.
A SOCIOGRAM OF PART OF A CCC CAMP



tion and repulsion. The dotted lines indicate repulsion. Only a portion of a much larger sociometric chart representing a living situation in a Civilian Conservation Corps camp is shown here. The numbers correspond to names and have no other significance. It will be noted in this sociogram that the interpersonal relations are, to a large extent, bounded by the barracks in which the enrollees live. There are three times as many social preferences and social disapprovals within the barracks as there are from barrack to barrack. This is to be expected and, on the whole, indicates that the camp is not, in the full sense of the word, a social unit, and that while contacts undoubtedly come through work gangs, most of the important personal relationships come through living quarters. Enrollees who are popular in the eyes of their barrack mates are Numbers 2, 6, 12, and 30. Outstandingly popular is Number 2, who is a rated leader. Outstandingly unpopular is enrollee Number 25, seconded only by enrollees Number 4 and Number 8. When asked the reason for their dislike of the outstandingly unpopular enrollee, the boys said he was "dirty," which, as so often happens, really meant something else. The isolates constitute another problem. It is noteworthy that in a heavy Italian camp population, the isolates are of non-Italian extraction: names like, Levine, Malt, Camp, Fisher, Dambeck, Dambrows (Jewish, English, and Polish). It would appear that the Italian group is closely knit, while many of the others are unsocialized in the camp population. In the unrepresented part of the sociogram, there are a number of Italian names among the isolates. Such persons are probably true isolates. Elements like nationality have something to do with leadership. These are illustrations of the many things of importance indicated by a sociogram.

As was said before, sociograms serve as guides to further study of the factors revealed. An interesting feature of such a study, which is not shown in the sociogram, consists of the "reasons" for the various attractions and repulsions. These reveal the attitudes, standards, and aspirational ideals which form the situational basis for leadership. Enrollees were asked to state the reasons for their choices. In addition, they were requested to write short descriptions of the chosen individuals. The result was a list of approvals and disapprovals which are not only enlightening because they show the social standards of enrollees, but because they present the social basis for leadership. These, in short, are the demands of the group. No one can read this list (only partially presented because of space) without realizing that enrollees in the camps understand ideals and standards of conduct perhaps better than they understand anything else. These statements may be read in two ways, (a) as the qualifications of leaders, and (b) as descriptions of the demands of the social situation. The latter is the primary factor in leadership as it is analyzed here. Leadership consists in meeting the demands of the emotional, aspirational, and other values of the group. This is the leadership situation.

SOCIAL-SITUATION LEADERSHIP DEMANDS (APPROVALS)

He is always happy, friendly, and helpful.
 He is what a right guy should be; willing to help others at all times.
 Good natured and does not look for trouble.
 He sticks by you no matter what anybody else says.
 Is honest and doesn't smoke or drink.
 Is a good sport and lots of fun. When I am in trouble he is always there to help me out.
 Is a good hearted fellow and plays square with everybody.
 Whatever he has he shares it with the others, never looking forward to get anything back for it.
 He is generous and not hoggish and shares when he is shared with, in the right way.
 Helped me out by teaching me the ways and rules of the camp. He told me whom I am supposed to take orders from and the ones I am not supposed to take orders from.
 He is a swell companion, lots of fun; he is clean and not foul mouthed.
 Is the right sort of guy; sometimes a little mean, but that is to be expected.
 Very good friend and will back me up in anything.
 He is honest and a comical fellow.
 Good person to keep company with because he is a true boy; he will back me up any time.
 Thinks of others the same as he does of himself.
 Never goes around and talks about me.
 He is outright, honest and cheerful. He treats me like a brother and calls me his boy.
 He is full of pep. He is always talking about music and the different bands.
 Is thoughtful and ambitious, and always has a happy disposition.
 Is kind and will give you the last cent he has if you need it.
 Gives everyone a fair chance, and steps aside for some of the fellows he shouldn't.
 He has a way of getting along with most of the fellows.
 He has no favorites. Insists on getting his work done, but does it in a lenient way.
 He does not swear and is clean, and at work he does not rush you too much.
 He is honest and loyal, and uses fairly good language.
 A good guy who is on the up-and-up; he never double-crosses you and is always loyal to you. He does things fifty-fifty.

SOCIAL-SITUATION LEADERSHIP DEMANDS (DISAPPROVALS)

Thinks he is above all of us, sometimes he speaks and sometimes he doesn't.
 He does as he pleases and seems to think everyone should respect him.
 He is stuck up and tries to be a big-shot; thinks he is smarter and better than you.
 He picks on me and gives me all the dirty work in our barrack.
 Is a snotty guy.
 He thinks he owns the camp, and he doesn't get along with anybody.
 He is a bully and likes to pick on someone smaller than himself.
 He is selfish and conceited.
 Is afraid he does more work than anyone in camp.
 Doesn't associate with hardly anyone.
 Very seldom see him going out with anyone.

In order to discover the situational basis for work leadership, the men on camp work crews were asked to give descriptive statements of good and poor work leaders. The resulting partial list well illustrates the situational nature of leadership. These descriptions in terms of the work situation also may

be read in two ways: (a) as descriptions of leadership activities, and (b) as descriptions of the needs of the work situation, psychological, and otherwise. From the list can be derived a job analysis of leadership in terms of the particular situation. The statements are given in their original form without classification, because in this form they present a general picture of the situation, which includes leadership. For training purposes, they may be classified in terms of trait actions and arranged in order for teaching. This paper, however, does not touch upon the educational aspects of the problem.

WORK-SITUATION LEADERSHIP DEMANDS (APPROVALS)

Works to get the job done in the right way as quick as possible.
Knows what should be done and does it.
Plays no favorites, treats all men alike.
Considers the fellows he has under him.
Does not let his stripes go to his head.
Not so easy that you can step all over him.
Tries to improve his men.
Never hollers, but takes his time in explaining the work.
Considerate of the workers; not a slave driver.
Does not demand an unreasonable amount of work per day.
Expects of workers just what he can accomplish himself in a day.
Is not too hard on a fellow who is clumsy.
Thinks of others as well as of himself.
Is always justified in giving his orders.
Works right with the fellows.
Is cheerful.
Helps all he can on the job and off the job.
Is an expert in his work.
Stands right over you until you get it done right.
Never yells at anyone, tells you in a calm way what's wrong with your work.
Considerate and a good fellow to work under.
Does everything in his power to cooperate with the men.
Explains things clearly and in an understandable way.
Interested in the work and sees that it is done right.
Good natured and well mannered.
Not too harsh on you, but wants to get the work done.
Will split the work evenly, not pick on one person all the time.
Not too domineering and too much of a bully.
Doesn't use his position to get revenge on someone he doesn't like.
Is fair and reasonable to everybody.
Does not slave drive you.
Does not yell or swear at you.
Jokes with you while you are waiting for next job.
Will not always pick on you for every job he can find.
A quiet man; does not shout but cooperates with you.
Does not get sore when you make mistakes.
Not always on top of you telling you to work.
Leaves you alone to work once in a while.
If he sees you doing something wrong, he will correct you.
Makes the lazy mug do his share of work.
Treats all men equally on the job and in the barracks.

WORK-SITUATION LEADERSHIP DEMANDS (DISAPPROVALS)

He doesn't hold a grudge against those he doesn't like; otherwise, he is a good leader. He carries hatred with him, and is always sneering at others, and threatens if things don't go his way.

He'd sit down on a rock and holler at the men if they tried to light a cigarette or stop for a second to rest.

He wants everything done his way regardless of your judgment.

He hollers if you make a mistake.

Sits around and won't help anyone when he needs it.

He expects an enrollee to know as much as he does.

He is a hard guy; always giving the boys arguments and giving no breaks.

Always talks in a loud voice and considers himself appointed to take care of everything around him.

If there is anything wrong, the blame is always on the other person.

The fellows get so that after a while they don't even try to do the work under this leader.

These typical statements of the characteristics of leadership in a social situation and in a work situation are, as a matter of fact, personalized descriptions of the demands of the situations. They give a picture of the problems of living together, of the pleasures and annoyances of the particular camp social situation and work situation. The approved boys become leaders largely because they meet the standards, the demands, the expectations, i.e., the *needs* of the group. Enrollee standards are evidently very definite. Enrollees know what is (for them) good social conduct and what is not. They know, not by being told, but by rubbing elbows with each other and living in a community where the conduct of each affects the other. They know what desirable conduct is. They appreciate it and they are not at a loss to describe it, both in positive and negative terms. In these enrollee approvals and disapprovals will be found a picture of what the enrollee likes and dislikes, of what he thinks is right and wrong. Those who meet the standards are by that fact leaders.

The demands of the situation create the responses which go by the names of leadership characteristics. Bearing this fact in mind, it is interesting to note that enrollees in Civilian Conservation Corps camps approve of the pleasant, helpful type of person. They approve of faithfulness, and particularly mention those who stick by their friends. There is a definitely expressed disapproval of bad language and bad manners. The statements reveal that the loud-mouthed minorities who seem to have approval, actually do not have it. Enrollees put a good deal of stress on helpfulness. They specifically speak of sharing, and helping the other fellow out. It is interesting to know that they do not expect perfection. In one instance the enrollee says, "He is the right sort of guy, sometimes a little mean, but that is to be expected." Enrollees have a respect for intelligence and a broadminded comprehension of other people's problems. One enrollee even says, "I like him because he has different ideas from mine, and I can learn something from him." Activities

and characteristics that go under the name of justice are demanded by the group. Again and again the words occur, "He is fair"; "He is a square-shooter," "Gives everyone a fair chance." Activities that go under the name of kindness are demanded. Enrollees are just as definite in the expression of their disapprovals. They have personal pride and hence they resent a person who thinks he is better than others, who is "too smart." They demand consideration, therefore lack of consideration is consistently disapproved. Bullying is generally hated. The smooth, oily individual, the "handshaker," and the fellow who says things behind one's back that he would not say to one's face, are all disapproved. They do not like the "smart-alec," the "snotty guy," or the "big-shot." Taken in one way, these represent positive and negative traits of leaders, but essentially they are descriptive of the demands of the situation.

A situational approach to the study of leadership has been described, techniques have been suggested, and illustrations of approvals and disapprovals which may be interpreted as descriptions of situational demands have been given. Nothing has been said about the practical implications of this material. It is obvious, however, that the sociograms suggest the use of leaders and chains of influence in developing the standards of the group. It is economical of effort to influence key persons who will in turn influence the others. The lists of approvals and disapprovals in social and work situations suggest a starting point for personality education and social education in youth groups. Other problems are suggested: for instance, the advisability of teaching socially minded individuals to act like leaders, as over against teaching popular and influential individuals to take an interest in social improvement. The methods suggested may be used in the study of leadership in many other kinds of groups, such as labor unions, mobile military units, etc., and should result in the development of more effective leadership.

PERSONALITY PROBLEMS IN CHINESE CULTURE*

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MANY Western students of personality often refer to China, with its apparently unchanging culture, as something of a psychological paradise where psychic tensions and behavior deviations are supposed to be very much less, if not almost nonexistent, as compared with their own countries.¹ In my younger days, I patriotically shared this view, but a few years' experience as a sociologist and lay analyst in the Peiping Union Medical College has almost entirely shattered this delusion. My duties there consisted mainly of propagating the sociological point of view along with a certain amount of the psychoanalytic technique among medical students and treating those psychoneurotic patients who were considered by other specialists in the institution as of only nuisance value. As a result of this rather unusual first-hand contact with Chinese personality problems,² a considerable amount of data has been accumulated, of which this article may be regarded as the first preliminary report.³

The principal hypothesis adopted in this paper is that personality problems are essentially problems of social adjustment. 'Personality' is conceived of as an achieved organization of desires and attitudes, conscious and unconscious, centered around the individual's basic conception of himself, and 'social adjustment' as a two-way instead of one-way process as the term may seem to imply. Thus, there is for each individual just as much a problem of adjusting to his own personality needs as there is of adjusting to the demands of his society and culture,⁴—'society' referring to other personalities and their demands upon the individual and 'culture,' to the group standards that regulate both individual and interpersonal conduct.⁵

* Presented to the Division on Social Psychology of the American Sociological Society Dec. 28, 1940, at Chicago, Illinois.

¹ As an example, see C. P. Emerson, *The Nervous Patient*, 37-38, Philadelphia, 1935.

² For this unusual opportunity, the writer owes a lasting debt to the broad-minded Dr. R. S. Lyman, who in his brief stay in Peiping laid the foundation of what little modern psychiatry there is in China and who genuinely regards the role of a sociologist with psychiatric experience as important and indispensable as that of a psychiatrist with medical training in an institution for mental diseases. He is now introducing this novel point of view to the Department of Psychiatry of Duke University, North Carolina.

³ This body of data, roughly speaking, consists of rather detailed statistical information about 1135 mental patients who were admitted to the Peiping Municipal Psychopathic Hospital in the years 1933-38, and some statistical information on 1333 patients who passed through the Neuropsychiatric Clinic of P.U.M.C. in the years 1936-39, supplemented by over a hundred case studies of mainly psychoneurotic patients, a number of which were made by means of the regular psychoanalytic procedure.

⁴ These views of personality and adjustment are set forth in some detail in the writer's article, "The Patient as a Person," *Social and Psychological Studies in Neuropsychiatry in China*, 1-30, edited by Dr. R. S. Lyman, Peking, 1939.

⁵ The distinction between society and culture made here is of course artificial, though necessary for purposes of discussion. Consult Kimball Young, *Personality and the Problems*

Personality problems in this sense may be said to be of two major kinds. If we plot the variant expressions of an individual's impulse life on a normal curve of distribution, we shall find that in the one extreme there are individuals who know, relatively speaking, little cultural restraint in the gratifications of their impulses, the problems resulting from this kind of maladjustment being generally known as delinquency or crime. In the other extreme, there are individuals who hold their impulses in check in the face of cultural prohibitions, or even push them far away from their own awareness, no matter how essential their adequate expression is for their own development. The problems resulting from this kind of maladjustment are commonly known as mental disorders, which in the last analysis are nothing more than the individual's continuous efforts to achieve or to regain a happy medium or a working conciliation between the fundamental needs of his own personality and the demands of his culture. This paper deals with the latter type of personality problems in the Chinese cultural milieu.

1. *Types of Mental Disorder in China.* What types of mental disorder are found in China? Table 1 gives some data on the major psychoses.

TABLE 1. TYPES OF MENTAL DISORDER OF CHINESE PATIENTS ADMITTED TO THE PEIPING MUNICIPAL PSYCHOPATHIC HOSPITAL (1933-38)

Types of Mental Disorder	Male		Female		Total ¹	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Schizophrenia, clear-cut and suspected	138	23.6	59	19.5	197	22.2
Manic-depressive, all types	74	12.6	72	23.7	146	16.5
General paresis	59	10.1	9	3.0	68	7.7
Epilepsy	42	7.2	9	3.0	51	5.7
Other organic psychoses	86	14.7	29	9.6	115	13.0
Psychopathic personality	47	8.0	19	6.2	66	7.4
Psychoneuroses	18	3.1	32	10.5	50	5.6
Paranoia and paranoid condition	36	6.2	12	3.9	48	5.4
Reactive episode	15	2.6	26	8.6	41	4.6
Mental deficiency	29	5.0	9	3.0	38	4.3
Psychoses undiagnosed	16	2.7	9	3.0	25	2.8
Involuntional melancholia	2	0.3	3	1.0	5	0.6
Other	23	3.9	15	5.0	38	4.2
Total	585	100.0	303	100.0	888	100.0

¹ The grand total of cases studied is 1135, for 247 of which no diagnosis is given.

Table 2 presents data relative to milder forms of mental disorders.

These figures give some indication of the types of mental or personality disorder in China, at least in North China. The usual diagnostic labels are used here, not as central objects of study as it is customarily done, but to represent in familiar terms the results of maladjustment between the individ-

of Adjustment, 132-136, New York, 1940; also John Dollard, "Culture, Society, Impulse, and Socialization," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1939, 50 ff.

TABLE 2. TYPES OF SOMATIC AND MENTAL DISORDER OF CHINESE PATIENTS AT THE NEUROPSYCHIATRIC CLINIC OF PEIPING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE (1936-39)¹

Types of Somatic and Mental Disorder	Number of Each Type	Percent of Each Type	Total ²	Percent
<i>Psychoses</i>			171	14.5
Organic	8	4.7		
Epilepsy	75	43.9		
Functional	82	47.9		
Not specified	6	3.5		
Total	171	100.0		
<i>Psychoneuroses</i>			449	38.0
Neurasthenia	181	40.3		
Hysteria	76	16.9		
Anxiety neurosis	45	10.0		
Mild depression	39	8.7		
Tics	15	3.3		
Obsession and compulsion neurosis	12	2.7		
Opium addiction	9	2.0		
Not specified	72	16.0		
Total	449	99.9		
<i>Other Functional Disorders</i>			421	35.6
Headache	266	63.2		
Insomnia	63	15.0		
Hypertension	61	14.5		
Genito-urinary	9	2.1		
Gastro-intestinal	6	1.4		
Other	16	3.8		
Total	421	100.0		
Psychopathic personality	—	—	23	1.9
Mental deficiency	—	—	18	1.5
Mental and neurological cases	—	—	73	6.2
Other	—	—	27	2.3
Total	—	—	1,182	100.0

¹ The number of cases studied is incomplete for the three year period.

² The grand total of cases studies in this connection is 1333, 7 of which were considered as normal, and 144 cases for which no diagnosis whatever was given.

ual Chinese personality and his social and cultural environment. When an individual's fundamental impulses are denied expression, he desires for certain forms of gratification or for security,⁶ if he should decide to continue his thwarted existence and should choose at the same time to curb his own desires instead of launching a frontal attack upon the environment,

⁶ This way of classifying human motives is not only simple but illuminating. The author of this scheme is one of the leading culture-conscious psychiatrists in this country. See H. S. Sullivan, "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry," *Psychiatry*, Feb. 1940.

there seem to be only one or two alternatives open: either total suppression or partial gratification. The former mode of adjustment, when untenable, often leads to either explosive acts directed toward the outside world or complete withdrawal into one's own "inner world," while the latter mode leads to self-deceiving devices of great variety, including "organ symbolism."⁷ Such behavior deviations are known in psychiatry as psychoses,⁸ neuroses, and various other functional disturbances. Put under some such theoretical frame of reference, most of the psychiatric jargon becomes intelligible. Our next and more important problem is how these types of mental disorder come about, or what factors have contributed to their genesis. Since we conceive of mental disorders as essentially problems of social adjustment, it is only logical that we should next examine the social situations to which the Chinese mental patients have failed to adjust.

2. *Social Situations Specially Straining to Chinese Mental Patients.* The more important social situations in China that occasioned the mental disorders of the Psychopathic Hospital patients referred to above, in order of frequency, are: (1) the economic or occupational situation; (2) the larger family situation; (3) the patient's own family situation; (4) the school situation; (5) the larger social situation; and (6) the nonmarital love situation.

Out of 247 cases in which the economic or occupational situation was mentioned as the occasion for their breakdown, almost one third suffered from prolonged unemployment or lack of means of subsistence; about one fifth had serious conflicts with coworkers; and others were dissatisfied with the work situation as a whole or had difficulty with their superiors.

Next in importance is the larger family situation, by which is meant the living together of single or married individuals and their own families with their parents, grandparents, or other relatives in the same household. This was mentioned in 243 cases. Among the issues prominent in this situation, the following are found to be the most important: serious illness or decease a family members, affecting nearly one third of the group; conflict with in-laws, affecting the female patients much more than the male; conflict between the patient and his parent or parents; and friction between the patient and siblings or other contemporaries in the household. As to the conflict between the patient and his parent, it is interesting to note that, relatively speaking, more male patients had difficulty with their fathers and more female patients with their mothers. (Difference is 5.3 percent for both.)

In the patient's own family situation, which was mentioned in 235 cases, the most important crisis also proves to be serious illness or decease of family members, in this case either the mate or children. Next are maltreatment of wives or concubines by husbands and husband's feelings of sexual maladjustments with wives. General incompatibility ranks third for both

⁷ H. F. Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes*, New York, 1935.

⁸ Psychoses due to physical injury to the nervous system obviously belong to a different category. More accurately, they belong to neurology rather than to psychiatry.

sexes. Other problems in the small family situation worth special mention are the tensions arising from concubinage, especially straining to the female patients, and the modern husband's dissatisfaction with his old-fashioned wife—sometimes vice versa—who were married usually in their later teens by order of their respective parents.

The school situation was mentioned in 137 cases. The major difficulties in this situation are those factors that cause failure in school work; namely, family affairs, low intelligence, personal problems and physical illnesses. Examinations and conflict with school mates also figure prominently.

By the larger social situation is meant the internal political situation in China and her international relations. It was mentioned in 135 cases. In over one fourth of these cases, mental symptoms were brought about by being frightened or actually having been imprisoned and maltreated by the Japanese soldiers mostly because these patients were known to be student patriots. Another fourth broke down for fear of being arrested or because of having been imprisoned by the local Chinese government prior to the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese hostilities, mostly because these young patients were suspected of being Communists. For the rest of this group, one major source of anxiety is the present war situation and the damages done either to the patient personally or to his family members.

The nonmarital love situation seemed especially straining to the younger generation in present-day China. Of 93 cases in which it was mentioned nearly one fifth were made miserable by disappointment in love; a little over one tenth got themselves entangled in illicit relations; and another tenth lost their heads, so to speak, when confronted by a love object, though entirely legitimate from the observer's point of view. A smaller proportion of cases broke down just in time to escape the sexual encounter or marital intimacy which often they themselves had planned for. Other sources of anxiety include autoerotic, homosexual, and incestuous behavior.

In regard to entire group of patients,⁹ it is interesting to note that while the problem of making a living seems to be the most straining to the male patients (218 out of 821 reports, or 26.5 percent),¹⁰ to the female patients the most perplexing problem is how to adjust to the family situation, large or small, especially in dealing with their husbands and the in-laws (112 and 151 out of 459 reports, or 24.4 and 32.9 percent, respectively).¹¹ Similarly,

⁹ The total number of mental patients studied is 1135, while the total times in which the social situations described above and others were mentioned is 1280, a number of patients having failed to adjust to more than one social situation. Nonsocial situations, or factors in the physical environment, were mentioned 237 times as being associated with the outbreak of mental symptoms. These include natural calamities, such as flood and famine; traumatic physical injuries; exogenic and endogenic toxic agents; old age; and others. The proportion of situations or factors in the social environment to those in the physical environment mentioned as occasions for the outbreak of the patients' mental symptoms is 83.1 to 16.9 percent.

¹⁰ Reports related to the same social situation for females are 29 out of 459 or 6.3 percent.

¹¹ Reports related to the larger family and the patient's own family situation for male patients are 131 and 84 out of 821 or 16.0 and 10.2 percent respectively.

the school situation and the larger social, political, and international situation that figure rather prominently in the mental breakdown of male patients seem to have much less importance for the female patients. These contrasts are perhaps understandable when one takes into account the relatively inferior position and limited interests of women in China, most of whom are not educated and are largely confined within the family.

3. *A Sociopsychological Interpretation of Mental Disorder.* Social situations by themselves, however important, do not adequately explain mental or personality disorder, for it is the meaning which a certain social situation has for a particular individual that determines his particular response. In order to account for any case of maladjustment, it is necessary, therefore, to consider at the same time the personality of the individual, not so much in the form of any specific preexisting attitude as Thomas counseled years ago,¹² as in that of the personality organization as a whole, especially the individual's basic conception of himself, which may or may not be clear in the individual's consciousness, but which often has a determining influence on his definition of any situation and his subsequent response.¹³ An attempt will be made here to demonstrate the usefulness of this hypothesis by a cursory review of two cases of maladjustment to some of the major social situations mentioned above. Such a hasty procedure is highly unsatisfactory, but is made necessary by limitations of space.

The first case is one of maladjustment to the larger family situation. The patient was a married man of 21 and a father of three children, when he was brought to the hospital by his father and his cousin, because he had to be fed and clothed and helped in the toilet or on the street, although there apparently was nothing wrong with him physically. When he was 11 years old, he experienced for the first time some mystical connection between his dropping a piece of paper on the floor and the possible death of his half sister who was then about two years old and was ill with smallpox. Later, his obsessions and compulsions extended to many spheres of his life and involved other members of his family, mainly in the form of thinking of some possible misfortunes befalling them and annulling same by some gesture. By eighteen, two years after his marriage during which time he constantly suffered from diarrhea, he dropped out of school and had the whole family worrying about his mysterious ailment.

Obviously, the illness of his half sister alone, in connection with which his symptoms first developed, cannot give us much understanding of the case. We must also explore the special significance that situation might

¹² W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, Chicago, 1918, Vol. I, "Methodological Note."

¹³ It may be noted that this view represents a sociological interpretation of psychiatric realities, the individual personality being looked upon both as a product of culture and as a relatively stable psychological structure or a system of reactivity. See Edward Sapir, "Personality," *Ency. of Soc. Sciences*, New York, 1934, Vol. 12: 55-88; and R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Sciences of Sociology*, 70, Chicago, 1924.

have for the patient, but if we rely on his surface communications alone, the explanation is rather simple: he was overconcerned about the well-being of his half sister as he also was about that of other members of his family; hence, his obsessive thoughts about their possible misfortune. He also characterized himself as a gentle soul, always respectful to his elders, meek and courteous to the point of being submissive to his friends and acquaintances.

After fifteen months of study by means of the psychoanalytic technique, but principally from the sociological point of view, however, it was found that the patient deep down in his heart conceived of himself literally as the emperor of his father's household, as the only child in the entire family worth being loved; he could not stand the presence of his father and uncles; he wanted to possess all the women folks in the family; his lot in life was to do no work, but to be served. Factors contributing to this basic conception are: (1) the illness of his own mother when he was about two and her death when he was four; (2) the extreme care and attention showered on him by elder members of the family, especially his aunt and adopted mother, for he was the only male child in two of the three families in a household of sixteen; and (3) the inconsistencies on the part of his elders in administering discipline, with the men folks insisting on authority and the women folks indulging him in every possible way. Knowing this, it would be easier to understand how his half sister, who was a lovely and attractive child and, according to him, was the center of attention in the entire family, might mean a serious threat to his princely position, and how he might wish that she were gone.

Most probably it was this unconscious wish for his half sister's death, coupled with his equally strong tendency to be a good brother, that resulted in the familiar self-deceptive mechanism for partial gratification of secret impulses known in psychoanalysis as substitution or displacement. As he grew, he was expected to share some of the responsibilities in running the family grocery store, but the privileges of the only male child in a Chinese family apparently was so difficult for the patient to relinquish that his symptoms increased with his age, until he finally not only escaped the demands of the family but succeeded remarkably in restoring his crumbling throne and subjecting the whole family to his service as in the days of old. The patient's reactions to specific situations, it is my conclusion, cannot be fully understood except in the light of this root-conception the patient had formed of himself in his early experiences in the family constellation.

The second case is one of maladjustment to what I called the love situation. The patient was a single girl of 20 when she began the treatment. Her chief symptom at that time was the compulsion to talk to people about a great discovery she had made in the field of science and philosophy and the great difficulty she experienced in expressing what she felt. Roughly speaking, she discovered that all the sciences and philosophies could be united into one system; just as human beings can get married and produce children,

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so the different branches of knowledge could be united into one and produce new knowledge. This, and other symptoms, developed soon after her graduation from the high school and in the course of close association with a cousin, a boy whom she liked but whose attention was received by her with an increasing amount of conflict. Her association with him was almost always in the form of exchange of intellectual information. Gradually her erratic behavior became more and more noticeable. While she was playing the piano, for example, she would exclaim suddenly that she was afraid and had to go to her mother for protection. The reason was that she thought of her boy cousin. She became more and more argumentative, picking especially men for her dialectic opponents. Later, she went into a psychotic episode and after a brief period of recovery is now back in the hospital again.

In accounting for this rather extraordinary reaction to a love situation, it is hardly sufficient to consider only the surface attitudes of the patient toward her boy cousin, which was one of Platonic admiration and intellectual companionship. Nor would it throw much light on the case to trace the symptoms in this case to the working of a biological impulse apart from the patient's personality organization as a whole.

After about two years of study, it became increasingly clear that the patient's basic conception of herself was that of an Amazon. It was deliberately cultivated by her mother in her early childhood. Her mother, now about 60 years old, came from a highly educated Confucian family deeply versed in the traditional teachings respecting womanhood,¹⁴ but, strangely enough, she had thought bitterly about the inequality between men and women ever since childhood,¹⁵ and this early hatred of men was greatly intensified by an extremely self-centered husband, who, for example, during a night when she was about to give birth to a child, forbade her to make a fire in the stove in her room because the noise disturbed his sleep! Although, with her Confucian and Buddhist philosophies, she was able to meet situations like this without actual collapses, the family was literally a battleground from the birth of the patient until her final breakdown. She and her two sisters were deliberately indoctrinated by her mother that all men were evil-minded, that they should struggle hard to be not only equal but superior to men and, most important of all, to show to their father that girls are just as good and useful as boys. Little wonder, therefore, that our patient should grow up with the grim determination to be an Amazon. In fact, her hostility toward men was so strong that treatment in her case was well-nigh impossible. She insisted throughout our contact that she did not come to me as a patient but as a teacher, and repeatedly expressed her utter dis-

¹⁴ In these traditional teachings, man was compared to Heaven and woman to earth. Just as the Heaven was above the earth, so man was superior to woman.

¹⁵ The fact that her brother could take the civil service examination in those days while she could not, and that she was somewhat unwanted by her own father are two factors that might have been responsible for this early awakening to the rights of women.

appointment because in spite of her many lectures I had made no progress. She further specified that what she wanted to teach me was what I could not find in Freud's writings. In a sense it was true, for whatever training I had at that time was not equal to the task before me, and I have learned a great deal since from her case.

It is not to be understood that the patient had no interest in men, but to her to love or be loved was a matter of great humiliation; in her own language, it amounted to giving up her one weapon—in fact, her whole philosophy of life. Whatever desire she had for men, she had to hide carefully under an intellectual cloak. Hence, the "great discovery" full of symbolic significance and her compulsion to make it known to men. Her problem perhaps will be considered by some as principally a matter of sex, but sex was a problem in her case only because it came in conflict with the basic conception that she had formed of herself since early childhood in the course of her experience in the social and cultural matrix of her family.

Space does not allow me to go further with case material. Perhaps enough has been said to indicate the usefulness of some of what I consider as the cardinal principles in any sociopsychological inquiry. One is that personality problems of whatever variety must be considered in the context of the personality organization as a whole, and that the essence of a personality organization is the individual's basic conception of himself formed early in life. The other is that personality problems mainly come from the conflicts between this basic conception or personality organization of the individual and the demands of the immediate social situation. In this sense, as Dollard puts it, personality problems are always culture and personality problems.¹⁶ Although the material dealt with here concerns principally phenomena that are generally considered as abnormal, it is believed that the general methodological principles that emerged from these considerations are equally applicable to the study of phenomena that are generally considered normal.

In this brief report, it was found necessary to omit a great deal of pertinent information and to pass over a number of rather important problems related to mental or personality disorder in Chinese culture. The distribution of Chinese mental patients according to age, sex, occupation and socioeconomic status, their community and spatial distribution in the city of Peiping in terms of general population, and the possible resemblances to and differences from mental patients in other cultures are but some of the facts that the writer was unable to take into account owing to the lack of space. These and other related problems will be taken up in some detail later.

¹⁶ John Dollard, *The Criteria for the Life History*, 5, New Haven, 1935.

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SIMILARITIES OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS IN INTELLIGENCE*

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THIS paper concerning the intelligence of marriage partners adds something to our general knowledge of assortative mating, homogamy, social selection, or preferential mating. Such studies have simply sought to determine the amount of similarity of marriage partners in intelligence, as measured by coefficients of correlation or other devices, but they have several implications for sociologists. Preferential mating has some bearing on the problems of marital adjustment, supposedly tending to increase marital harmony; it is important for inheritance studies and to eugenics, to the extent that intelligence test performance is accounted for by heredity; and it is indirectly related to segregation and class cleavage in society, since people not only to some extent select marriage partners on the basis of similarity of intellectual status, but they also select friends in the same way.¹

Let us briefly review the evidence already available from published studies. It is not surprising that psychologists are responsible for most of the knowledge we have, but it is interesting to note the small amount of evidence hitherto reported. An early study attempting to use a correlation method was that of Frederick Adams Woods, the investigator of royal families. The correlation coefficient for the estimated intelligence of 229 royal marriages was $+0.08$.² The next correlation study was that of Moorees on 45 couples studied in an institution for the mentally deficient. Here the coefficient was $+0.10$.³ Subsequent studies have consistently reported higher coefficients. Willoughby studied 90 California couples on a battery of items taken from well-known tests and discovered an average coefficient of $+0.44$.⁴ Jones studied 105 Vermont marriages by means of the Army Alpha test and discovered a coefficient of $+0.598$.⁵ When this study was increased to

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¹ H. M. Richardson, "Studies of Mental Resemblance between Husbands and Wives and between Friends," *Psychol. Bull.*, 1939, 36: 104-120.

² F. A. Woods, *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty*, New York, 1906.

³ V. Moorees, "The Immediate Heredity of Primary Aments Committed to a Public Institution," *J. Appl. Psychol.*, 1924, 8: 89-127.

⁴ R. R. Willoughby, "Family Similarities in Mental Test Abilities," *Genetic Psychol. Monog.*, 1927, 2: 235-275; and *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, Part I, 55-59.

⁵ H. E. Jones, "A First Study of Parent-Child Resemblances," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, Part I, 61-72.

include 27 more marriages the coefficient fell to $+.52$.⁶ Burks had the largest number of pairs in two California groups tested on the Stanford Binet scale. In one group of 174 marriages, the coefficient was $+.42$; in another of 100 couples, the figure was $+.55$.⁷ Freeman and his associates studied 150 marriages in the Chicago area, obtaining a coefficient of $+.49$.⁸ Schooley studied 80 couples, finding a correlation of $+.56$.⁹ The last two investigations employed the Otis S-A test. Outhit's study of 51 marriages, employing Army Alpha and Stanford Binet tests, revealed the highest coefficient of all, $+.74$, for a group of families in the professional occupations and upper social class levels of the northeast of the country.¹⁰ Other studies have reported similarity in associations, information, vocabulary, and arithmetic reasoning,¹¹ but because these are not comparable to the new data they may be ignored at present. The correlation range on the general intelligence studies was thus from $+.08$ to $+.74$, with the later and best investigations ranging from $+.42$ to $+.74$, about 800 couples having been studied. The small number of cases is to some extent compensated for by the close agreement of the six later investigators employing different tests in different parts of the country.

The new data available for report at this time consist of 433 marriages of University of Kansas students taking entrance intelligence tests during the period from 1925 to 1938, whose marriages were reported to the Alumni Office. In each case, intelligence scores were available for both husband and wife. During the entire period covered by the study, the tests officially accepted by the American Council on Education were employed. Although the test and the corresponding raw scores on the tests changed from year to year, the various years are made generally comparable by the use of percentile scores and decile scores in each year. These represent the percentile and decile scores of all United States college students on the test during the year. On the assumption that the quality of University of Kansas and other American college students did not change materially over the period of study, percentile scores of a husband from one of the earlier classes and a wife graduated from the university last spring are thus considered to be

⁶ H. S. Conrad and H. E. Jones, "A Second Study of Familial Resemblance in Intelligence: Environmental and Genetic Implications of Child and Sibling Correlations in the Total Sample," *39th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1940, 97-141.

⁷ B. S. Burks, "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture upon Mental Development," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, Part I, 219-321.

⁸ F. N. Freeman, J. Holzinger and B. C. Mitchell, "The Influence of the Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement, and Conduct of Foster Children," *27th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 1928, Part I, 103-217.

⁹ M. Schooley, "Personality Resemblances among Married Couples," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1936, 31, 340-347.

¹⁰ M. C. Outhit, "A Study of the Resemblances of Parents and Children in General Intelligence," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 149, 1933.

¹¹ Cf. Richardson, *op. cit.*, for a thorough review of recent studies.

¹² Although recorded to decile for percentile was

comparable. Or, to state the question differently, it is assumed that a student would score in the same percentile regardless of the year he took a test.

One method of analyzing the degree of homogamy exhibited by the data would be to determine whether, for each decile of intelligence of husband, the wife was in the same or immediately adjacent decile or deciles to an extent superior to chance (see Table 1). But for the purposes of general analy-

TABLE 1. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR INTELLIGENCE OF PARTNERS IN 433 MARRIAGES

Deciles ↓ →		Bride's Intelligence Decile										Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Groom's Intelligence Decile	1	8	15	14	14	8	8	4	2	4	1	78
	2	8	7	10	5	3	3	5	1	4	2	48
	3	4	9	6	12	4	8	6	4	2	0	55
	4	6	7	10	1	11	5	6	3	2	2	53
	5	4	8	3	3	7	3	2	6	3	3	42
	6	7	4	1	6	7	9	4	5	2	6	51
	7	8	5	9	6	2	1	3	3	2	5	44
	8	0	5	1	3	1	4	1	5	2	2	24
	9	3	0	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	3	22
	10	1	0	3	4	1	1	4	0	2	0	16
Total		49	60	60	57	45	43	38	31	26	24	433

sis and general comparison with the studies reviewed above, it is sufficient to report that the Pearson coefficient of correlation r for these marriages was only $+0.193 \pm 0.032$, markedly lower than for any of the more recently published studies.¹²

Since the correlation is slight in this study, and since most of the other studies are in such close agreement with each other, we should consider possible defects in the data or methods of this study that make for a low coefficient. It is obvious that the most satisfactory methods of making a study of selection of marriage partners on the basis of intelligence is to test

¹² Although the fact has no clear bearing on assortative mating within the group, it may be recorded that the central tendencies of groom and bride scores were very similar. The median decile for both was the fourth, highest scores being in the first decile; and median groom percentile was 37th from the top, compared with 39th for brides.

them at a time very shortly before marriage by means of the same battery of intelligence tests. The present study falls short of this ideal to a somewhat greater extent than the other reported studies, since the same test was not used for each husband and wife. Whether or not we can fully justify the assumption that the decile scores of different years on slightly different tests have a high degree of comparability, we are not justified in saying at this time that they have not. I am convinced after calculating correlation coefficients for a part of the data by percentiles, deciles, and raw scores that there would be no material differences in the coefficients for the whole group made by deciles and those made by raw scores on the same test. The partial group was confined to the period of the use of Thurstone Psychological Examinations having closely comparable raw scores and percentile score ranges. If the same principle of decile comparison can be extended to the use of different tests, this weakness of the data and method is, I believe, satisfactorily cleared up.

It should also be recalled that the other studies of this question did not report tests prior to marriage. Indeed, for the most part, couples studied had been married for some years, so that the coefficients possibly were higher than would have been true prior to marriage. If the subjects grew more alike in intelligence test performance after marriage, this would help to explain the higher coefficient in the later studies reported. In the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be said definitely that homogeneity in intelligence test performance does not increase with length of association; and some psychological schools would generally accept the likelihood that this would occur. If people grow even slightly more alike in this respect, the studies of homogeneity of marriage partners some years after marriage give a somewhat erroneous impression that selection of marriage partners is made on the basis of intelligence. It is also true that the other studies of intellectual assortative mating failed to use a battery of different tests, and the very small number of cases involved in most of them also raises the possibility of selective factors to a somewhat greater extent than is true of the present study.

Another plausible explanation of the wide discrepancy between the present study and the six studies reporting high correlations has also occurred to me. Possibly the fact that only college students are included in the new investigation has reduced the coefficient. The fact that all marriages are at a level of intelligence which excludes a considerable part of the total population implies that even negatively related pairs (for example, a man in the topmost decile, a woman in the lowest) would still be closer in intelligence than would be found in the total population of top and bottom ranks of intelligence. What effect this would have is not clear at present, but that this is a factor is further suggested by three studies of correlations of intelligence in highly selected groups. Thus, in the study by Woods of members of royal families and that by Moorees of feeble-minded husbands and wives,

we have the lowest of all correlations reported, $+.08^{13}$ and $+.10^{14}$ respectively, and Cox, in a study of rank in eminence among the most eminent persons of history, correlated with estimated intelligence, found a coefficient of only $+.16^{15}$. It would thus appear that when a group has a high minimum and low maximum intelligence score, correlations within the group may be abnormally low. When some corrective factor is applied to a selected group to bring the coefficient to that for an unselected group, we may, however, find that the correlation in the present study still remains considerably lower than that for most of the other reported investigations. It is my impression that this may be expected and that homogamy in intelligence is not as great as is generally believed.

According to present plans, the collection of data on this topic will continue indefinitely at the University of Kansas. The number of marriages should eventually be pushed up to a thousand or more. There is also the possibility of extending the same sort of investigation to high school alumni, since many high schools now employ mental tests of recognized worth. There is every reason to hope that data from other universities might be used to extend our knowledge on a relatively unexplored topic.

¹³ Woods, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Moorees, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ C. M. Cox, "Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses," *Genetic Studies of Genius*, vol. II, Palo Alto, California, 1926, page 55. This coefficient is corrected by partialing out the effect of reliability of historical data on the coefficient of correlation. Before partialing, the coefficient was $+.25$.

SEQUENCE IN REVOLUTION

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REVOLUTIONARY action, like many other types of social change, may be said to represent a social movement. As such, it has some pattern of change. Patterns are time and space marks; societal patterns are observations of similarities or continuities in "the structures and processes of social being and becoming in time and place."¹ The basic assumption of the sequential pattern idea is that the data of social change are characterized both by repetition and continuity and thus may be regarded as constituting inclusive, definable wholes. These wholes are spoken of as patterns; their elements are variables and relationships.² Hence, the problem of the investigation of social movements becomes one of finding uniformities in their development.³ Sequential uniformities may be classified as linear and cyclical.⁴

In general, revolutionary social movements are thought to follow a cyclical course of development; in this type of change, a society "revolves," approximating the equilibrium of its initial phase. The discovery in a great many instances of the cyclical character of revolutionary movements led to the generalization that it is their natural course; revolutions are thought to have a "natural history." This is an old idea. When the Greek and Roman writers traced the sequence of governmental forms as a result of revolutions, they were describing a "natural history" of revolutions.⁵

¹ H. A. Phelps, *Principles and Laws of Sociology*, 58, New York, 1936. Patterns of structure relate to organization; patterns of function relate to short-time or long-time change.

² Cf. Phelps, *op. cit.*, 76.

³ Regularly recurrent uniformities are called laws. "Scientific laws," according to Pareto, "are for us . . . nothing more than experimental uniformities." Cf. *Mind and Society*, I: 52, New York, 1935. Four types of such uniformities may be noted: teleological, statistical, near-causal, and dialectical. Cf. K. D. Har, *Social Laws*, 11, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1930. Most sequential uniformities described in revolutionary theory are of the last named type: they trace the course of antithetical tendencies as the latter transcend their initial situations.

⁴ Linear sequences are either unilinear or sympodial. Cyclical sequences are either dialectical (as in equilibrium analysis) or spiral. Revolutions are cyclical, although linear implications may be observed in world-revolutionary doctrines. Both Liberal and Marxist (and to a lesser extent, Fascist) apologetics have the optimistic note of unilinear development.

⁵ Thus, for Plato revolution meant a progressive degeneration from perfect aristocracy, through timocracy, oligarchy, and democracy to tyranny. Cf. his *Republic*, VIII; also W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, 33, New York, 1902. Aristotle argued that the sequence was from royalty, through oligarchy and tyranny, to democracy; cf. *Politics*, III, xv; IV, xiii; also Dunning, *op. cit.*, 84 ff. With Polybius, the natural history idea became a systematic social theory. Starting with a lack of civilizational arts, a society through force or instinct submits to a minority (despotism) who later come to be regarded as founded on morality (royalty). Upon becoming a tyranny, the minority with its leader (monarch) are replaced by the virtuous leaders of the people (aristocracy) who in turn degenerate into an oligarchy, thus giving rise to popular revolt and government (democracy).

The idea of the natural history of revolution has come to mean, following this traditional cue, a reconstituting of society the sequential pattern of which is cyclical.⁶ It is the latter point which, because it is interpretive, has occasioned the most difficulty. Revolutionary movements may be cyclical or linear, but in either case the problem is how and why? What processes account for the pattern so described? Granted such a sequence, what is its *modus operandi*? One answer is that of an objective school of thought which explains the developmental pattern of revolution by means of the phenomena of social life; a subjective school of thought accounts for it on the basis of the phenomena of mental life. The first interprets sequence in revolution in terms of institutional factors; the second thinks of it in terms of psychosocial factors. But both schools are dialectically deterministic; a given situation develops contradictions which are resolved through social movement.

In the first, or objective case, sequence in revolution, as in any other type of social change, is a cycle of institutionalization. Ideally, institutionalization proceeds through eight phases: need, initiatory, organizational, efficient, ritualistic, disorganizational, new felt need, and completely disintegrative or reorganizational.⁷ From this point of view, revolution occurs with appearance of a new felt need. There are three different theories which interpret the emergence and nature of the revolutionary need phase. The economic conception advanced by the Marxists and by many non-Marxists as well⁸ "correlates" revolutionary sequences with economic institutional changes; the extent and character of the former are determined by the felt urgency of the latter.

A typical Marxist approach is that of Lewis Corey.⁹ There are, according to Corey, two groups of characteristics of revolution, the general and the specific. The former are those aspects which determine the unity of revolutions; the latter are those aspects which determine their differences in purpose and action. The general unity of revolutions results from certain fundamental socioeconomic changes which in turn are conditioned by technical

Becoming a mob rule, the latter gives rise to a new despotism, thus initiating a new cycle. Cf. his *History of Rome*; also Dunning, *op. cit.*, 115 ff. With some modifications, Cicero traced the same pattern in his *De Republica*; cf. Dunning, *op. cit.*, 120 ff. Invariably, all of these men found that the cycle is a result of the development of antithetical tendencies; the existing equilibrium being thus broken, some other technique of stability is sought. Change was considered as dialectically determined, i.e., *A* became not-*A* through social movement.

⁶ The analogical conceptual scheme of a revolutionary theory is not necessarily mechanical; it may be biological. Broadly speaking, the mechanical analogy was popular until the mid-nineteenth century when, under the influence of Darwinism, the organic analogy seemed to have more cogency. Taine's "fever" analogy (so ably aped by Crane Brinton in his recent *Anatomy of Revolution*) is distinctly different from the Marxist mechanical analogy. However, both are equilibrium theories and equilibrium analysis is a cyclical interpretation.

⁷ This cycle is graphically portrayed in C. E. Howell and P. Meadows, *Students' Manual for Introductory Sociology*, 49, New York, 1939.

⁸ Cf. P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, 577 ff., New York, 1928.

⁹ Cf. S. D. Schmalhausen, ed., *Recovery Through Revolution*, New York, 1933.

economic forces and by the mode of production. The conflict of class interests which economic advance entails, finds expression in a new ideology and is resolved by the class conquest of political power. The diversity of revolutions arises from the necessity of utilizing whatever means are at hand to conquer power.¹⁰

Economic need provokes the revolutionary crisis; it also shapes it. When it becomes clear that the initial concessions won by moderates are about to be wiped out by domestic and/or foreign opposition, or by the stringency of an increasingly critical economic situation, radicals arise to power to avert disaster.¹¹ The revolutionary society assumes the appearance of a besieged city and a shift in social relations occurs from (1) differentiation to integration, (2) liberty to organization, and (3) freedom of property to more controlled or even restricted property.¹²

The organizational emphasis in the objective interpretation of revolution is an attempt to connect economic trends with the behavior of individuals in groups. Thus, there are, according to Hilaire Belloc, three stages in a revolutionary crisis: (1) existence of an integral and convinced minority; (2) capture of the executive; and (3) solution of the strain, one way or the other, after the capture of the executive.¹³ What Belloc does not make clear here is that group behavior in revolution mirrors and is a function of the powerful currents of economic life, i.e., revolutionary action may be thought of as class action. A typical presentation of this point of view has been made by George Soule.¹⁴

A much more adequate study of revolutionary sequence assumes that revolutionary groups are manifolds of "events" not exclusively economic, but broadly social. This is Edwards' thesis. Revolutions, he argues, have a life history with five isolable phases: (1) preliminary and (2) master symptoms; (3) outbreak; (4) crisis; (5) normality.¹⁵ Social unrest, articulated by a mobile intellectual class, precipitates overt conflict which signalizes a social separation between rulers and ruled. The leadership of protest is

¹⁰ H. J. Laski makes the revolutionary crisis a highly voluntaristic affair, a struggle over property rights. When it becomes clear that a reform phase in politics threatens property rights, i.e., the maintenance of inequality, the reformers are replaced by reactionaries—the price of that change is revolution; cf. *Democracy in Crisis*, 25 ff., London, 1933.

¹¹ Cf. Laski, *ibid.*; L. P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution*, chapters 7–8, Chicago, 1927; W. B. Kerr, *The Reign of Terror*, Toronto, 1927; and E. and C. Paul, *Creative Revolution*, New York, 1920.

¹² Cf. H. F. Simon, *Revolution, Whither Bound?*, 269, New York, 1935; for the governmental changes involved, cf. chapters 3–7.

¹³ "Factors of Historical Changes in Society," (*Brit.*) *Sociol. Rev.*, 1923, 15: 1–5.

¹⁴ Cf. *The Coming American Revolution*, 68 ff., New York, 1935. The Marxist literature, of course, utilizes this interpretation, e.g., K. Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Chicago, 1907. For other expressions of it, A. Meusel, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," *Encyc. of Social Sciences*, VI: 471–82; F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, New York, 1935.

¹⁵ L. P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution*, op. cit.

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initially moderate with both moderates and radicals cooperating to counteract the conservatives. The leadership of protest is seized by the radicals.¹⁶ The accommodation between the various factions of the revolution which ultimately follows the disappearance of the sense of crisis establishes a new equilibrium; the new social philosophy is simply adjusted to the old scheme of things and normality returns.¹⁷

The purpose of the cultural emphasis in the objective interpretation is the demonstration that the behavioral sequence of revolution is fundamentally a cultural phenomenon. Revolution is intensified cultural change.¹⁸ As such, its processes conform, in some measure at least, to those of cultural change. That is to say, revolution is an instance of "social invention," to use Lester F. Ward's phrase. By social invention is understood a "technic process" used to modify relationships; this is its functional aspect. It is also thought of as a "co-adaptive social relationship"; this is its structural aspect.¹⁹

Social invention has a dual nature. It is a method of mastering the environment (response to stimuli) and it becomes a part of the environment (stimulus to response). Inventions may be adjustments to three kinds of *milieu*—physical, mental, and social. Conscious inventions, as distinct from those of a creative, evolutionary nature, are either empirical (trial and error) or projective (logical blueprints based on formulas). Projective invention is dependent on the development of mental inventions to an abstract or conceptual plane and it is applicable both to physical and social environments. In revolution, we are concerned largely with projective social inventions, with daring derivations from a social logic. They originate in the necessity for co-adaptive adjustments of the social organization to such critical situations as obtain in revolution. Their function is the utilization of

¹⁶ According to Edwards, "The government of moderate men ends in wreck. . . . In plain English, the revolution is on the point of being wiped out in blood and the radicals save it by wiping out its opponents in blood," *op. cit.*, 150.

¹⁷ This cyclical pattern has been described by G. S. Pettee, *Process of Revolution*, New York, 1938; E. D. Martin, *Farewell to Revolution*, New York, 1935; S. A. Queen, W. B. Bodenhafer, E. B. Harper, *Social Organization and Disorganization*, 352 ff., New York, 1935; J. Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements*, 8, New York, 1930; J. O. Hertzler, "The Typical Life Cycle of Dictatorships," *Social Forces*, 1939, 7: 303 ff., and K. Loewenstein, "Autocracy versus Democracy in Contemporary Europe," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, 1935, 29: 581 ff. Students of the French Revolution speak of the accommodation and normality of the last phase as the "Thermidorian reaction." The Marxists argue that this is the inevitable termination of bourgeois revolutions. Cf. L. Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Garden City, N. Y., 1937; also L. Gottschalk, "Leon Trotsky and the Natural History of Revolution," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1938, 44: 339-54. Will the Fascist revolutions undergo Thermidor? Or have they? Cf. H. Raushning, *The Revolution of Nihilism*, New York, 1939.

¹⁸ Cf. C. A. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution*, 48-49, New York, 1927, and his "Psychological Theory of Revolutions," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1905, 11: 49 ff.; also E. E. Eubank, *Concepts of Sociology*, 249, Boston, 1932.

¹⁹ Cf. L. L. Bernard, "Invention and Social Progress," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, 1928, 29: 1-33.

"social forces" or modification of them and they involve the fabrication of new cultural patterns or new configurations of cultural traits. They emerge in critical social situations through description, procedural analysis, and formation.

It is at this point that the second, or subjective, interpretation of revolutionary sequence begins. Broadly speaking, the subjective approach is an attempt to find in the economic, organizational, and cultural aspects of revolution an adjustment process which may account for the multitudinous details of revolutionary action. It is an explanation of a higher in terms of a lower level.²⁰ The fundamental assumption is that it is human beings who make revolutions, not an abstract Idea, or Force, or "Economic Process."²¹ The behavior of human beings in revolutionary situations, it is further assumed, may be described in two complementary ways, viz. (1) attitudinally, and (2) valuationally.

The main thesis of the attitudinal emphasis is that revolutionary personalities, living as they do in a world of institutional instability and suffering the delusions and insecurity of the same, find certitude in the dogmatisms of an idea system which sums up the resentments and desires of their experience-world and projects them in ecstatic fulfillment into a Utopian society. Attitudinally, the revolutionary sequences has two phases.²² Sorokin identified the first stage with the "biologization" of behavior as the result of the extinction, suppression, and weakening of numerous conditioned responses.²³ The second stage witnesses a "sociologization" of behavior as the result of the appearance of conditioned brake-habits in partly new and partly old form.²⁴ This attitudinal sequence may be conceived of less psychologically.²⁵ In the first stage, there is unrest as a result of social and personal abuses as well as of the petrification of existing social institutions. In the second stage, there are excesses and abuses directed against the upper classes. But whether psychologically or sociologically described, the attitudinal sequence forms a cycle, a dramatic development with its own climax and *denouement*.²⁶ Moreover, the key to the sequence is the idea of adjustment in terms of conditioning of responses.²⁷

²⁰ Cf. D. Yoder, "Process in Revolution," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 1927-1928, 12: 263.

²¹ From this point of view, then, entirely too dramatic and unrealistic is Napoleon's definition: "Revolution is an idea which has found bayonets." Quoted by G. A. Borgese, *Goliath*, 206, New York, 1938.

²² Gasset, however, finds three stages, the traditionalist, the rationalist, and the mystical states of mind. Cf. J. Ortega y Gasset, *The Modern Theme*, 107 ff., London, 1931.

²³ P. A. Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, 34 ff., Philadelphia, 1925. Also, cf. pages 41-119 for the analysis of speech, ownership, sexual, labor, authority reactions which, according to Sorokin, undergo "perversion" during this period. Even religious, moral, esthetic, and other responses become "perverted."

²⁴ In other words, restriction processes supersede expansion processes.

²⁵ Cf. Queen, Bodenhafer, Harper, *op. cit.*

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The attitudinal sequence in revolution may be described in yet another way. That is, there occurs in revolution, as in any other type of collective behavior, a situational adaptation. Lasswell has suggested that the latter process proceeds from insecurity, through a new symbolization and crisis, to a relatively stable readaptation.²⁸ B. V. Morkovin interpreted the data of the 1825-1881 period in Russian history in terms of some such conception.²⁹ Using the same historical background, I. T. Malamud traced a similar attitudinal evolution during the revolutionary prelude.³⁰ The sequence, she argues, is from compensating tendencies toward introversion to compensating tendencies toward socially oriented extroversion. Withdrawal responses are succeeded by approach responses which are initially covert but ultimately overt and of a conflict nature.

What is implicit in these suggested patterns is that the attitudinal evolution in revolution is of one piece with the valuational sequence; they are two sides of the shield of revolutionary aggression. Hence, to trace the course of values is to describe at the same time the sequences of attitudes. Thus, Reeves noted in his study of the French Revolution a shift from "academic" to "martial" values.³¹ Bernard suggests a successive confronting by persons of stimuli which vary from the concrete to the highly abstract.³² Abel found in his study of the Nazi movement a gradual emergence of an "issue" and an "ideology."³³ The spotlight of criticism by persons and groups comes slowly to rest (1) on something which is to be combatted and eliminated and (2) on something which is to be realized. The latter represents values which must be promoted. In order to be effective, the values must be socially shared, emotionally toned, personally felt, logically authoritative, and char-

²⁶ Cf. A. B. Kuttner, "The Cycle of Revolution," *New Republic*, 1919, 20: 86-88. The release of inhibitions as to law, order, and property, Kuttner argues, brings the abolition of "all inhibition." Revolution thus reaches its summit, remains stationary for a time, and declines as a new set of inhibitions appear.

²⁷ Even writers making a crowd-psychological approach to revolution concede this point; cf. E. D. Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds*, 185-222, New York, 1920, or his *Farewell to Revolution*, *op. cit.*, Foreword and Chapter 1; and G. Le Bon, *The Crowd*, 13-14, New York, 1897.

²⁸ Cf. *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, 114, New York, 1935.

²⁹ Cf. his *Incipient Revolution in Its Personality and Group Aspects* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Univ. of So. Calif., 1929).

³⁰ Cf. her *A Psychological Analysis of Social Crises*, (Unpublished master's thesis, Univ. of Iowa, 1937).

³¹ Cf. S. A. Reeves, *The Natural Law of Social Convulsions*, 262 ff., New York, 1933.

³² Cf. L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 512 ff., New York, 1926. The level of revolutionary objectives depends on the stage of the culture of the people and the extent of the stasis in institutional life. While a majority of the society is in revolt against concrete situations (the only "cues" to behavior they know), a few (the intellectuals) transcend the concrete as a result of conditioning to psychosocial and collective institutional stimuli. They thus produce not only an ideological justification for revolution but also an institutional pattern for it as well. For the basis of this conditioning process, cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, chaps. 10-13.

³³ Cf. T. Abel, "The Pattern of a Successful Political Movement," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1937, 2: 347 ff.

The valuational sequence in revolution, then, like the attitudinal sequence, has two phases, one of revolt *from* and the other of revolt *to*.

The promotion of strategically significant values becomes in revolution a highly varied activity, but throughout, a single proposition is uniformly stressed by the revolutionaries; the fate of the revolution depends upon the manipulation of the social environment by an aggressive ruling group or elite. The valuational evolution in revolution is a phenomenon of social control. Lasswell has argued that the elements which must be controlled (and used for control) are symbols, violence, goods, and practices.³⁵ "True revolution" he represents as a process of emancipation from a traditional set of symbols and of attachment through increasing self-awareness to a new set. The critical aspects of revolution relate to the undermining of affection for an authoritative tradition.³⁶ Revolutionary propaganda is a manipulative procedure designed to detach a society from the existing symbols of authority and to bind that society to new and more challenging symbols.³⁷

The next step is to consolidate authority within the captured administrative area.³⁸ Here violence is important. Violence is a "propaganda of the deed," response to which ordinarily is excessively out of proportion to the stimulus but the intention of which is to secure thereby acquiescence to the new authority. The destruction, withholding, and apportioning of goods are compulsive techniques used both by ruling and challenging classes to secure conformity.³⁹ Finally, there must be developed among the revolutionaries administrative techniques, of which there are two kinds, "constitutional" and "cathartic."⁴⁰ In other words, revolution as a phenomenon of social control is a social movement which achieves its Utopian values through realistic procedural instrumentations, both constitutional and administrative. It is a social movement the manipulative techniques of which not only signalize the disorganization of a society but also seek through that disorganization the reconstruction of social life.

The preceding developmental constructions which have attempted to trace the sequential pattern of revolutionary social movements represent inductive generalizations from studies of many different contexts. They are not mutually exclusive; they are delineations of selected phases of revolution. The accompanying diagram is offered as an attempted integration of these theories into a comprehensive conception of sequence in revolution. It may also be regarded as a hypothesis which additional studies of revolutions may verify, modify, or reject.

³⁵ H. D. Lasswell, *Politics*, New York, 1936.

³⁶ Cf. Lasswell, "Strategy of Revolutionary and War Propaganda," 178-221, in Q. Wright, ed., *Public Opinion and World Politics*, Chicago, 1933, on pages 199-200. ³⁷ *Politics*, 36.

³⁸ Lasswell, "Strategy of . . . Propaganda," *op. cit.*, 192.

³⁹ Cf. *Politics*, 76-102.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Politics*, 103 ff. Constitutional techniques relate to the structure of political power; cathartic techniques have to do with the successful execution of political policy.

Official Reports *and* Proceedings

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE

1. This revision of the Constitution and the By-Laws represents a complete re-writing of the present documents. For purposes of comparison, please see the old Constitution and By-Laws, *American Sociological Review*, April 1938, III: 233-238. To present each rewording or addition by article, section, and line would be an extremely complicated and confusing procedure.
2. Essentially all the revisions have already been approved in principle by the Society or are now established and effective practices. The revisions embody:
 - a. The Report of the Committee on Publication of the American Sociological Society, *Review*, Feb. 1936, I: 122-125.
 - b. The Report of the Organization Committee (J. H. S. Bossard, Chairman) Sections II, III, IV (Section I was tabled, business meeting, December 29, 1940), *Review*, Feb. 1940, V: 110-111.
 - c. The Report of the Committee on Programs (D. Sanderson, Chairman), *Review*, Feb. 1941, VI: 98-99.
 - d. Effective *mores* and principles of procedure established by the Society, the Executive Committee, or the Editorial Board as set forth in their minutes.
 - e. The incorporation of the principles of the report of the new Committee on Nominations which had the task of formulating a procedure for nominating and electing officers by mail.

Respectfully submitted,
RAY E. BABER,
E. T. KREUGER,
DWIGHT SANDERSON,
J. O. HERTZLER, *Chairman*.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I. NAME

Section 1. This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS

Section 1. The objects of this Society shall be to stimulate and improve research, instruction and discussion, and to encourage cooperative relations among persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Active membership in this Society shall be open to any person meeting the conditions prescribed in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The President, First Vice-President and Second Vice-President shall be elected by the membership. (See By-

Laws, Art. II, Sec. 1a.) The Secretary and Treasurer shall be selected by the Executive Committee and approved by the Society. (See By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 2b).

Section 2. The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. He shall perform all duties assigned to him by the Society and the Executive Committee. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution his duties shall devolve successively upon the First Vice-President, the Second Vice-President, and the Secretary.

Section 3. The First Vice-President and the Second Vice-President shall be members of the Executive Committee, and may succeed to the duties of the President as provided in Section 2.

Section 4. The Treasurer shall receive, have the custody of, and disburse the funds of the Society, subject to the rules and orders of the Executive Committee.

Section 5. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

ARTICLE V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The Society shall maintain a bi-monthly journal entitled the *American Sociological Review*, with a subtitle *The Official Journal of the American Sociological Society*. (See By-Laws, Art. V.)

ARTICLE VI. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall be the permanent governing body of the Society except in so far as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the two Vice-Presidents, past presidents for the first five consecutive years after the completion of their respective terms as President, six elected members whose terms shall be three years and two of which shall expire each year, and one representative each from the Southern Sociological Society, Eastern Sociological Society, Southwestern Sociological Society, Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Mid-West Sociological Society Pacific Sociological Society, and Rural Sociological Society, the terms of the representatives of the affiliated societies being three years with approximately one third being elected each year.

Section 3. The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, shall establish sections of the Society, and shall have power to fill vacancies in its elective membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual meeting. Vacancies among the representatives of the regional or specialized societies shall be filled by the societies affected.

Section 4. One third of the total members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee at regular annual meetings and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

Section 5. (New; Bossard Report, Sec. IV.) The Executive Committee shall constitute an Administration Committee from among its members each year. The Administration Committee shall consist of the President, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and three other members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years. The Administration Committee shall have all of the powers of the Executive Committee when the Executive Committee is not in session, subject to such general directions and instructions as the Executive Committee may choose to give, and the Administration

Committee shall report to the Executive Committee any acts which require the approval of the Society.

Section 6. Other temporary committees may be provided for by the Society or the Executive Committee when it is not possible to secure the action of the Society.

Section 7. (New; from Publication Report, Sec. 4.) The Editorial Board shall be the permanent body of the Society having complete control and management, within the budget approved by the Executive Committee, of the *American Sociological Review* and any other publications of the Society not otherwise provided for, except in so far as the Society delegates functions related to publication to officers, or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Editorial Board.

Section 8. (Formerly By-Laws Art. III, Sec. 13.) The Editorial Board of the Society shall be composed of the President and Secretary of the Society, an Editor and a Managing Editor to be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society, for two-year terms (the term of Editor to begin with Number 2 of the volume of the *American Sociological Review* of the year for which he is elected, and the term of the Managing Editor to begin June 30th of the year for which he is elected), and six additional members, known as Assistant Editors, elected by the Society for three-year terms, two of which shall expire each year.

Section 9. (Formerly By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 16.) The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively *ex officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Editorial Board. In the absence of either or both, the Editorial Board shall elect a Chairman and Secretary *pro tem*. In event of a vacancy on the Editorial Board, it shall be filled by the Editorial Board until the next annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. ELECTIONS

Section 1. All officers of the Society, except the Secretary and Treasurer, the six members of the Executive Committee representing the Society, and the six assistant editors of the *American Sociological Review* shall be elected by mail ballot by a majority vote of the members of the Society. The Secretary and Treasurer of the Society and the Editor and Managing Editor of the *American Sociological Review* shall be elected by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII. MEETINGS AND SESSIONS

Section 1. The term "business meeting," as used in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, shall refer to a gathering of the Society or of any subordinate body of the Society at which business is transacted. The term "session" shall refer to a gathering for the purpose of presenting a program of papers and discussion.

Section 2. The term "annual meetings" shall be used to include both business meetings and sessions. The Society shall hold its annual meetings during a period of consecutive days, at a time and place determined by the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The Society shall hold annually two or more business meetings at which it shall transact its business.

(To the members: Art. IX, SECTIONS, as presented below, is revised in conformity with the Report of the Committee on Programs, Dwight Sanderson, Chairman, Sec. 1. Some members of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution and By-Laws favor with some degree of enthusiasm the abandonment of Secs. 2 and 3. In their opinion sections, whether "autonomous" or "participating," tend to develop a rigidity which sometimes carries them beyond their period of usefulness. They maintain that great freedom and flexibility, even to the extent of considerable experimentation, should be permitted in setting up the Programs of the annual meeting. In place of Secs. 2 and 3 of the present article they propose Art. III, Sec. 3c (alternate statement) of the By-Laws).

ARTICLE IX. SECTIONS

Section 1. A section of the Society shall be composed of members of the Society interested in a common field of sociological specialization. Sections shall meet annually during the time of, and in the same city as, the annual meeting of the Society.

Section 2. Such sections shall be known as "autonomous sections" when they elect their own officers and as "participating sections" when their chairmen are appointed by the Program Committee.

Section 3. Additional participating or autonomous sections may be authorized or existing sections disbanded by the Executive Committee, provided that in each case such action is approved by a majority vote of the members of the Society present and voting at an annual business meeting.

ARTICLE X. SPECIAL FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS

Section 1. With the approval of the Society, the Executive Committee, or such other committee as it or the Society may designate specifically for the purpose, may solicit, receive, invest, and expend funds, and the income therefrom, for special purposes designed to further the research or other interests of the Society.

ARTICLE XI. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by vote of two thirds of those present and voting at any annual meeting.

Section 2. Amendments may be proposed by the Executive Committee, a special committee appointed for the purpose of revising the Constitution, or upon petition to the Secretary by 10 members of the Society.

Section 3. All proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be published in the *Review* not later than the October number prior to the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of this Society shall be eligible to active membership upon application to the Secretary.

Section 2. The dues for active membership in the Society shall be six dollars per annum, payable in advance, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review*.

Section 3. Joint membership may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of dues of seven dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all of the rights and privileges of active membership in the Society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription of the *Review*.

Section 4. Resident students of educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to active membership in the Society upon the payment in advance of three dollars per annum. This membership shall include one subscription to the *Review*.

Section 5. Any active member of the Society may become a sustaining member by the payment of dues of ten dollars or more per annum. Sustaining members shall have the rights and privileges of active membership.

Section 6. Any active member of the Society may become a life member by the single payment of one hundred dollars. Life members shall have the rights and privileges of active membership.

Section 7. Any active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously for at least twenty years,

may become an emeritus member of the Society. Emeritus members pay no dues but shall have all the rights and privileges of active membership.

Section 8. Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election at any annual meeting of the Society upon nomination by the Executive Committee. Honorary memberships shall not involve obligation for payment of dues, in the absence of which it shall not carry with it the rights and privileges or active membership.

ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

Section 1. All officers of the Society elected by the membership at large shall be selected by a mail ballot.

a. The Committee on Nominations shall select two names each for the offices of President, First Vice-President, and Second Vice-President, and four names each for the two annual vacancies in the Executive Committee and the two Assistant Editors of the *Review*. These names shall be placed on a printed ballot with one blank space for direct nominations from the membership for each of the presidencies, and two blank spaces each for additional nominations to the Executive Committee and the Assistant Editorships. These ballots shall be sent to the membership of the Society by May 15 of each year. To be valid as votes they must be signed by the member voting and returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations not later than June 15.

b. Any person whose name is written in for a particular office by at least one tenth of those returning ballots, and in no case by less than 25 persons, shall be considered as nominated for that office. The Committee on Nominations shall then prepare a second ballot containing the names of the candidates for each office nominated by the Committee and those nominated by mail. This ballot shall be sent to the membership by July 15 and to be valid shall be returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations by August 15 of each year.

c. In case no names are written in for any office, or in the event that any name written in is found on less than one tenth of the ballots returned, the results of the first ballot shall determine the election for that office.

d. In either the first or final balloting for the presidents, the person receiving the largest number of votes shall be considered as elected in each case; in the case of the balloting for the members of the Executive Committee and the Assistant Editors, the two receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected in each case.

e. All ballots cast together with all pertinent data and records of the Committee on Nominations shall be submitted to the President and Secretary of the Society immediately after the report of the Committee has been completed and, if found to be satisfactory, shall be certified by them to the Society in business meeting as true and accurate. The Secretary shall hold in safe custody for a period of at least eighteen months all such ballots, data, and records of the Committee on Nominations.

f. The report of the Committee on Nominations shall be published in the October number of the *Review*.

Section 2. All active members as certified by the Treasurer shall be sent ballots for the election by mail. All active members of the Society present at business meetings may vote as prescribed herein by the By-Laws.

Section 3. The Secretary shall record the results of the mail ballot and all other voting by the Society.

Section 4. All other voting by the Society shall be *viva voce*, unless otherwise called for.

ARTICLE III. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. Nominating Committee.

The President of the Society shall appoint a Committee on Nominations consisting of fifteen members. There shall be at least one representative from each of the regional and special societies named in Article VI, Section 2 of the Constitution on the Committee. Not less than four or more than five of the members shall be continued from the committee of the previous year.

Section 2. Executive Committee.

a. (Old Sec. 2.) The Executive Committee may create such temporary committees of its own or of the Society, not provided in the Constitution, as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society, subject to the approval of the Society.

b. (New; Bossard Report, Par. III.) The Executive Committee shall elect the Secretary, the Treasurer, Editor, and the Managing Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, subject to the approval of the Society.

c. (New.) The Executive Committee may combine the offices of Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor of the *Review* as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society, subject to the approval of the Society.

d. (Old Sec. 9.) All actions of the Executive Committee initiated by this Committee and those not performed in the process of carrying out those functions delegated to it with power must be approved by the Society before they shall be binding upon the Society.

e. (Old Sec. 10 revised.) All recommendations by the Executive Committee for the cooperation of the Society with other societies and associations, and all nominations by it of representatives from this Society to other societies and associations with which it is in active cooperation must be submitted to the Society for approval, *provided* that temporary vacancies among representatives occurring in the interim of annual meetings of the Society may be filled by the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee to serve until the next annual meeting of the Society. In case there is not time for the Administration Committee to act upon such a vacancy, the President may make a temporary appointment; but otherwise, the President is limited to making recommendations to the Executive Committee and to announcing its decision.

f. (Old Sec. 11.) All recommendations or nominations of the Executive Committee to the Society shall be submitted in open business meeting singly and separately for action by the Society.

g. (Old Sec. 12 revised.) In case of a vacancy in the office of Secretary or Treasurer occurring in the interim of annual meetings, the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee shall fill this office, the appointment being effective without action of the Society until regular action is taken at the next annual meeting.

h. (New.) All action of the Administration Committee of the Executive Committee of continuing significance must receive the approval of the Executive Committee and of the Society at the next annual meeting.

Section 3. Program Committee.

a. (New; Sanderson Report, Par. 7). The Program Committee shall be composed of the President, Secretary, and Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, with the President serving as chairman.

b. (New.) The Program Committee shall meet upon the call of its chairman.

c. (New.) The Program Committee of each year shall submit to the Executive Committee of the same year a list of sections to be recognized in the program

of the ensuing year. This list shall be published in the October number of the *Review* and recommended to the Society for approval at the annual meeting. To give flexibility to the program and recognition to developing interests of the membership of the Society, upon petition of at least twenty five members to the Secretary by March 1st and with the approval of the Administration Committee, other sections may be added to the program of the following annual meeting.

(Comment: The above (c) will have to be revised if the election machinery as set up in By-Laws, Art. II, Sec. 1 is accepted. The weakness of the above (c) is that it forces a new president to accept a past Program Committee's conception of a program. Perhaps we will have to abandon approval by the executive Committee and depend upon the Administration Committee and the "checks" from the membership. Please find a possible statement below.)

c. (Alternate statement.) The new Program Committee of each year shall submit to the Administration Committee a list of sections to be recognized in the program of that year. This list shall be published in the February (or April) number of the *Review*. To give flexibility to the Program and recognition to developing interests of the membership of the Society, upon petition of at least twenty five members to the Secretary by April 1st and with the approval of the Administration Committee, other sections may be added to the program of the following annual meeting.

d. (New: Sanderson report, Par. 7.) The Program Committee shall appoint the chairmen of sections which do not elect their own officers. It shall review the number and subjects of the different sections and shall recommend to the Executive Committee new sections or the discontinuance of sections.

(To the members: If Constitution, Art. IX, sections 2 and 3 are abandoned by the Society then (d) might simply read:

d. The Program Committee shall appoint the chairmen of sections or of specific programs of the annual meeting.

Section 4. Standing Committees.

a. The functions of the Society of a continuing nature not provided for elsewhere in the Constitution or By-Laws shall be conducted by such standing committees as the Society may vote.

b. The Committee on Research shall have specific responsibility for the research activities of the Society. Early in each year, it shall take a census of research carried on by members of the Society, publish its findings in the August *Review*, and also make them available to the section chairmen.

c. The Membership Committee, whose members shall be representative of the various geographic areas of the country, shall solicit membership in the Society.

d. The Committee on Public Relations shall be responsible for publicizing the activities of the Society and conducting relations with the press.

Section 5. (Old By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 8.) Resolutions Committee.

a. All resolutions shall be referred to the Resolutions Committee before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE IV. RELATION TO REGIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

(To the members: This article includes Par. II of the Bossard Report, such portions of the old By-Laws, Art. I, Sec. 9, as are not superseded by the Bossard Report or later action of the Executive Committee, and certain ideas worked out by the chairman in conference with President Queen.)

Section 1. Regional sociological societies whose organization includes members

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from part of at least five states of the Federal Union, other national societies concerned with specialized phases or applications of sociology, and local sociological societies consisting of at least ten members at least half of whom must be at all times members of the American Sociological Society, may affiliate with the American Sociological Society. The regional and affiliated sociological societies noted in the Constitution, Article VI, Sec. 2, shall be entitled to one representative each on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society. Such representative must be a member of the Society.

Section 2. The Secretary, with the approval of the Executive Committee, is authorized to issue a charter to regional, specialized, and local societies, hereinafter known as affiliated organizations. Applications for the affiliation of such organizations with the American Sociological Society shall be in a form prescribed by the Executive Committee.

Section 3. In the event that an affiliated organization meets at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society, the program of the affiliated organization must be coordinated with that of the American Sociological Society insofar as is possible by mutual agreement.

Section 4. In the event that the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society believes that the conditions of affiliation are not being fulfilled by any given affiliated organization, or that such affiliation is no longer to the best interests of the American Sociological Society, the Executive Committee may recommend to the Society a termination of the affiliation, and, if such recommendation is approved by a majority vote of the members present at any duly authorized business meeting of the Society, such affiliation shall be terminated.

Section 5. Affiliation of societies other than those above specified is hereby authorized when approved by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any authorized business meeting of the American Sociological Society, provided the petition for such affiliation shall have been made to the Society at least one year prior to final action. Such societies shall not have representation on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society unless approved by the Society upon recommendation by the Executive Committee or petition to the Executive Committee by at least twenty-five members of the Society.

Section 6. The President and the Secretary of the American Sociological Society, or their representatives, shall attend upon invitation meetings of affiliated organizations.

Section 7. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to the opportunity to publish notices of their activities in the *Review*.

ARTICLE V. THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW AND THE EDITORIAL BOARD

(To the members: The material below is from the Recommendations of the Committee on Publication (*Review*, February 1936, pp. 123-125), the minutes of the Society, the mores, and old By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 14.)

Section 1. (Old Art. III, Sec. 14.) The Editorial Board shall meet upon the call of its chairman, or of a majority of its members.

Section 2. (Publications Report, Sec. 8.) The Editor shall have jurisdiction over the editorial management and policies of the *Review* subject to the limitations of Sec. 4 below; he shall prepare or approve all copy for publication; he shall have the authority to appoint such associate, contributing, book-review, or special-issue editors as he may deem necessary; and he shall exercise such other responsibilities and perform such other duties as are usually incumbent upon such officer.

Section 3. (Publications Report, Secs. 9 and 12.) The Managing Editor shall have jurisdiction over and attend to the business details of the *Review* such as contracts

for publication, soliciting and contracting advertisements, making outlays indispensable to the editorial and business management, etc.

Section 4. (Publications Report, Sec. 10.) The final jurisdiction in matters of editorial policy or of business management shall rest with the Editorial Board, which shall have the power to reverse the decisions either of the Editor or of the Managing Editor by a majority vote.

Section 5. (Publications Report, Sec. 12, revised.) The Editorial Board shall be instructed to keep all financial expenditures for all phases of the *American Sociological Review* within the budget approved by the Executive Committee.

Section 6. (Publications Report, Sec. 15.) It should be recognized by the members of the Society that the acceptance of a place on the program of the annual meeting, both general and sectional, shall confer first publication rights on the Society for the paper as presented and obligate the author to prepare the paper in form suitable for publication. This publication right, on the request of the author, may be waived by the Editor. The Editor shall have the right to reject for publication any paper which fails to measure up to the standards required either in content or form.

Section 7. (Giving By-Law status to items in Phelps' memo to Constitution Committee.) The Editorial Board shall have the power (a) to establish special subscription rates to the *Review* for members and students not now covered by Article, Sections 2-7 of the By-Laws and special rates to libraries and the members of other organizations; (b) to make special arrangements with agencies for the sale of subscriptions; (c) to determine and arrange exchanges; (d) to sell back numbers; (e) to arrange for bound and unbound sets of the former *Proceedings* and the present *Review*, (f) to negotiate arrangements for special rates to other sociological journals for members of the Society, and (g) to carry on other activities incidental to the distribution of the *Review*, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. BUDGET, FINANCE, AND AUDIT

Section 1. (New. Giving By-Law status to a mos.) The Executive Committee shall annually select a Committee on Budget and Investment which, in cooperation with the President, Treasurer, and Managing Editor of the *Review*, shall make a budget for the ensuing fiscal year covering all expenditures of the Society, including the publication of the *Review*, and shall supervise and approve all investment and banking activities of the Society. The budget shall be approved by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. (New.) A bond in the amount of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00), the cost of which is borne by the Society, shall be required of the Treasurer or other officer or appointee controlling the funds of the Society. (Comment: The amount of the bond about covers the amount of funds in the hands of the financial officer at any time.)

Section 3. (New. From minutes of Society.) The books of the Society shall be audited at the conclusion of each fiscal year by a certified public accountant approved by the Executive Committee. Said report should be published in the *Review* prior to the next annual meeting.

ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society, and adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society.

Section 2. No final vote on any amendment to the By-Laws shall be taken until the amendment has been read and has lain on the table until the next subsequent business meeting.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

The headquarters of the Society will be the Roosevelt Hotel, New York City. The Committee on Local Arrangements includes: W. C. Waterman, chairman, H. P. Fairchild, Francis Kilcoyne, Charles Page, N. S. Timasheff, and Willard Waller.

Additions and corrections may be made for inclusion in the final official program up to November 1, 1941. They should be sent directly to H. A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27

8:30 A.M. **Registration.**

9:00-10:00 A.M. **Business Meeting** for reports of committees and representatives of the Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Section on Human Ecology.** James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati, Chairman. (To be arranged.)

Section on Social Statistics. Philip M. Hauser, Bureau of the Census, Chairman.

"Basic Social Trends in Cincinnati: An analysis of Census Tract Data," Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati.

Discussant: Glen S. Taylor, Bureau of the Census.

"Some Demographic Clues to Social Stratification," Elbridge Sibley, Division of Statistical Standards.

Discussant: Edward Shils, University of Chicago.

Third paper to be arranged.

Section on the Family. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, Chairman.

"Family Trends in the United States since 1890, with Special Reference to the Period, 1930-1940," Paul C. Glick, United States Bureau of Census.

"From Family Loyalty to Community Loyalty: The Impact of Western Influences on Chinese Society," Olga Lang, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University.

"The Changing Mexican Family," Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington.

"The Negro Family in Brazil," E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University.

1:00-3:00 P.M. **Section on Social Psychology.** Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, Chairman.

"The Analysis of Situational Fields, A Theoretical Orientation for Social Psychology," Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University.

Discussion: Read Bain, Miami University.

"Prejudice at the University Level," J. Ellis Voss, University of Pennsylvania.

"Response to Parental Discipline," M. F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University.

Section on Sociometry. William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Chairman.

"The Relationship of Public Opinion Measures to Sociometric Procedures," Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University.

"Individual Differences in Personal Relationships," Helen H. Jennings, Columbia University.

"The Preliminary Standardization of a Social Insight Scale," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

Roundtable discussion.

Section on Community. Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago, Chairman.

"Industry and the Community," Conrad M. Arensberg, Brooklyn College. Discussant to be chosen.

"The Community as a Basis for Social Planning and Social Action," Douglas Ensminger, United States Department of Agriculture. Discussant: C. A. Dawson, McGill University.

3:00- 5:00 P.M. **Section on Social Theory.** Talcott Parsons, Harvard University, Chairman. (To be arranged.)

Section on Criminology. Walter C. Reckless, Ohio State University, Chairman.

"Opportunities for Research in the Federal Prison System," James E. Bennett, Director, United States Bureau of Prisons.

"Differential Mortality in Criminal Cases in Selected Jurisdictions," C. C. Van Vechten, Jr., Institutional Section, Bureau of the Census.

"Predicting Juvenile Delinquency," H. Ashley Weeks, State College of Washington.

"Functional Classification of Criminal Behavior," Walter Webster Argow, New York University.

Discussion to be announced.

- 4:00 P.M. Meeting of the Nominating Committee.
- 4:30 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.
- 6:30 P.M. Meeting of the Committee on Public Relations. Alfred McClung Lee, New York University, Chairman.
- 8:00 P.M. **General Meeting of the Society** to be arranged by the Committee on Participation of Sociologists in Nation Affairs, C. C. Taylor, United States Department of Agriculture, Chairman.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 10:00-12:00 A.M. **Conference on the General Social Science Course.** Julian Woodward, Cornell University, Chairman.

Conference on the Social Aspects of Housing. R. Clyde White, University of Chicago, Chairman.

Conference on Sociology and Sociometry as Applied to National Defense. J. L. Moreno, Beacon, N. Y., Chairman.

"General Methods," J. L. Moreno, Beacon, N. Y.

"Quantitative Methods," George A. Lundberg, Bennington College.

Panel discussion to which the following have been invited: Robert T. Crane, F. Stuart Chapin, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Margaret Hagen, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Margaret Mead, George P. Murdock, Samuel A. Stouffer, and Donald Young.

At a later time (to be arranged) a special meeting will be held on "The Integration of Sociometric Field Surveys," George A. Lundberg, Chairman.

- 1:00- 2:00 P.M. **Business Meeting of the Society.**

- 2:00- 4:00 P.M. **Section on Social Research.** Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester, Chairman.

"Bureau of the Census Experiments in Designing a Field Sample," C. L. Dedrick and M. H. Hansen, Division of Statistical Research, Bureau of the Census.

"Some Problems Encountered in the Inter-Regional Standardization of a Socio-Economic Scale," William H. Sewell, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

One paper to be announced.

Additional papers not to be read:

- "The Problems of Integrating Social Science Research in a Governmental Research Agency," Ralph H. Danhof, United States Department of Agriculture.
 "A Study of Typology," Morton F. Fosberg, New York City.

Section on Social Biology and Population. (In cooperation with the Population Association of America.)

- Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund, Chairman.
 "Population Dynamics, 1900 to 1940, for the United States, Its Regions and Divisions," Philip M. Hauser and A. J. Jaffe, Bureau of the Census.
 "Occupational Birth Rates in Urban and Rural Areas of Wisconsin," T. C. McCormick, University of Wisconsin.

"Army Mortality and Morbidity," Richard O. Lang, War Department.

"The Relation of Employment Levels to Birth Rates in Germany," Dudley Kirk, Princeton University.

Section on Political Sociology. Charles J. Bushnell, University of Toledo, Chairman.

Topic: What Specific Professional Help Can the American Sociologist Give to Our Governments, Local and National, in the Present World Emergency?

Panel Discussion led by C. C. Taylor, Stuart Rice and Robert M. MacIver, and Charles S. Johnson.

- 4:00- 6:00 P.M. **Section on Sociological Theory and Social Problems.** Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University, Chairman. (To be arranged.)

Section on Sociology and Psychiatry. Hornell Hart, Duke University, Chairman.

Topic: What Is a Well Adjusted Personality?

- 5:30 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

- 8:00 P.M. **General Meeting of the Society.** Joint Session for Presidential Addresses with the Rural Sociological Society.

"The Redistribution of the Rural Population," T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, President of the Rural Sociological Society.

"Can Sociologists Face Reality?" Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, President of the American Sociological Society.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 8:00 A.M. **Breakfast Meeting of the American Political Science Association and the Section on Political Sociology.**
Same topic as Dec. 28 afternoon meeting. Reservations should be made with C. J. Bushnell by mail or at meetings.
- 9:00-11:00 A.M. **General Meeting of the Society.** Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, Chairman.
Topic: Democracy and Social Control.
"Democracy and Social Control in Industrial Relations," William H. Stead, Washington University.
"Democracy and Social Control in Race Relations," Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University.
"Democracy and Social Control in Civil Liberties," Howard B. Woolston, University of Washington.
Discussants: Bessie Bloom Wessell, Connecticut College; Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina; Warner E. Gettys, University of Texas.
- 11:00-12:30 P.M. **Business Meeting of the Society.** Reorganization Committee Report and Election of Officers.
- 1:00- 3:00 P.M. **Section on Educational Sociology.** M. Wesley Roper, Kansas State Teachers College, Chairman.
Topic: Youth in Our National Economy.
"Vocational Training and Employment of Youth," Selden C. Menefee, Social Housing Research Analyst, U. S. H. A.
"Youth and National Morale," Delbert C. Miller, Washington State College.
"Scholastic Achievement and Occupational Choice," Noel P. Gist and C. T. Pihlblad, University of Missouri, and Cecil L. Gregory, State Social Security Commission, Jefferson City, Missouri.
Section on Sociology and Religion. Samuel C. Kincheloe, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chairman. (To be arranged.)
Section on Sociology and Social Work. Grace L. Coyle, Western Reserve University, Chairman.
Topic: The Expanding Function of Government in Meeting Social Need.
"The Function of Government in Relation to Economic Security," Dorothy Kahn, American Association of Social Workers.

"The Responsibility of Government in Medical Care,"
Michael M. Davis, Committee on Research in Medical Economics.

"New Social Responsibilities of Government Arising from the Defense Program."

3:00- 5:00 P.M. **General Meeting of the Society.** Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, Chairman.

Topic: Inter-Cultural Relations in the Americas.

"A Program for the Integration of Social Research in the Americas," Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez, National University of Mexico.

"Some Cultural Barriers to American Solidarity," E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University.

Discussants: Clarence Senior, University of Kansas City; Nathan L. Whetten, University of Connecticut; Samuel H. Lowrie, Bowling Green State University.

5:00 P.M. Meeting of the New Executive Committee.

Section on Political Sociology, Dec. 28, 1941, 2:00-4:00 P.M.

Chairman Charles J. Bushnell has made the following tentative plans for a panel discussion of the general question, "What Specific Professional Help Can American Sociologists Give Our Governments, Local and National, in the Present World Emergency?"

General Aims. While this question will be discussed at 8:00 P.M., Dec. 27, under the direction of the Committee on Participation of Sociologists in National Affairs, it is hoped this special panel discussion may add something of value. It is especially desired that members of the following organizations will constitute the Panel and lead in the discussion: Social Science Research Council, Research Planning Committee, Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in National Affairs, Committee on Public Relations, and other interested groups.

In view of the world wide revolutionary conditions, the leaders of government are being compelled to seek more light both as to general policies and special methods. We believe sociologists now have an unprecedented opportunity and obligation to help; we know they are now being asked. The approach may include the viewpoints of: (1) general theory; (2) problem analysis; and (3) practical policies. To avoid discussing too many different (even though related) topics and also to give the Panel a free hand, the Section Committee is merely submitting the above suggestions.

Proposed Procedures. (Subject to modification after consultation with the Panel.) 1. A brief presentation, by the Chairman, of the general purpose of the Panel. 2. Short talks by at least three Panel members, covering the high points to be discussed. 3. Questions to Panel speakers by other Panel members. This should develop into a general discussion by Panel members of relevant topics and points of emphasis. 4. The discussion may next draw in the audience by written questions to the Panel members and by very short remarks from the floor. 5. The discussion should be summarized by the leader-of-discussion and the Committee of the Section.

Readers of the *Review* are invited to send comments and questions for discussion in this meeting of the Political Sociology Section to its Chairman, Charles J. Bushnell, University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.

CURRENT ITEMS

Communication. This is Mr. Fortune's second note on this subject. The first is in the August 1941 *Review*, pp. 571-572. Instincts and race have not fared very well as biological factors "explaining" culture. Mr. Fortune suggests that certain chemical factors may play very significant roles in producing specific types of social structure and in conditioning their modes of function.—R.B.

SOCIAL FORMS AND THEIR BIOLOGICAL BASIS

Social codes appear to be codes for conditioning reflexes which reflect both some freedom in the terms of the conditioning and also some limitations imposed by the nature of the unconditioned reflexes. In social cultures, there appear to be influences derived from a two-way interaction between the brain and the lower nervous system and especially from a two-way interaction between the brain and the balance between the physico-chemical compounds, sympathin and acetylcholine. The sociological and the neurological modes of inquiry are sufficiently distinct so that within the sociological mode it may be presumed that codes of social conditioning have absolute autonomy from neural factors and absolute dominance over these factors, irrespective of their inherent or innate nature. However, this assumption of a one-way interaction may be challenged.

In considering problems of war and peace, we have to contrast societies in which the alternation is fast with those in which the alternation is slow or nonexistent. In and about New Guinea, societies known to the writer in which the alternation is fast, have one type of stomach and gut conditioning; societies in which the alternation is slow have another. Where the alternation of war and peace is fast, the food is light, cooked by steaming, not long retained, and quickly turned over in no great quantity. Where the alternation of war and peace is slow, the food is heavy, baked or boiled, long retained, and slowly turned over, in massive quantity. In New Guinea there is no people like the Eskimo of Greenland and northeastern Canada who eat so heavy a pure meat and blubber diet that the alternation of war and peace is stopped entirely by it. Nor are there any people in New Guinea who live by hunting and fishing alone. The area is almost wholly agricultural. The only massive agricultural diet known to the writer is a continuous diet of unrefined sago.

It will be quickly realized that patterns of minor elements in social culture, such as the lightness or the heaviness of the food, may be responsive to the speed or the slowness of major culture patterns, but it seems possible that major culture patterns, in their turn, may be especially sensitive to patterns of minor elements precisely at the point where sociological discourse impinges most closely on physiological discourse. Such an interacting point is where a concentrate of time-pattern material (a culture pattern) meets a concentrate of space-pattern material (a nervous system). Such an assumption of a two-way interaction between social and neurological factors inhering in the nature of social codes is strongly suggested by many details of the New Guinea codes. It agrees with the suggestion in Pavlov's work. It agrees with the conclusion that unilateral matrilineal institutions and unilateral patrilineal institutions are nonalternating, continuous conditioned reflexes of distinctive reflex character. It enables us to draw inferences and to make predictions, and, as a

scientific induction, it must be tested by its predictive power. We predict that further anthropological investigation will confirm this hypothesis and improve upon it in precision of measurement.

R. F. FORTUNE

Toledo, Ohio,

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

American Sociological Society will hold its Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting in New York City, Dec. 27-29, 1941, at the Roosevelt Hotel. It is hoped that a large proportion of the membership will attend as final action will be taken on the Report of the Reorganization Committee. Every member should read the Report carefully (in this issue) before going to the meetings. The program should be of more than ordinary interest this year because of the portions devoted to problems of the national emergency.

The National Association for Nursery Education will hold its 1941 Biennial Conference at Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Oct. 24-27. The general topic will be, "Life, Liberty, and Happiness for Children Now." Seminars under the direction of nationally known specialists will discuss various aspects of the problem.

Anyone desiring the final program or further information should address Evangeline B. Burgess, 125 Maumell Street, Hinsdale, Illinois.

National Council for the Social Studies (the department of social studies of the National Educational Association) will hold its twenty-first annual meeting in Indianapolis, Nov. 20-22, 1941. Its program is of especial interest to elementary and secondary teachers of the social studies but anyone may attend. Speakers of National note will be present and a symposium on citizenship education will be held.

Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, has just issued Pamphlet 58, *Labor in the Defense Crisis*, by T. R. Carskadon. It is based on Lloyd G. Reynolds' *Labor and National Defense*, prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Labor of the Twentieth Century Fund.

After reviewing all the evidence, the Committee concludes that compulsory arbitration will not work and that voluntary arbitration will; that a board with general powers to give both labor and management a voice in the determination of labor policies should be set up. It is also suggested that hours should fall somewhere between 48 and 60 per week.

Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 211 Fourth Avenue, New York, is developing a monthly feature called "Decide-for-Yourself." It consists of a packet of from fifteen to twenty-five items of pro and con propaganda. Three have been issued so far; "War;" "Labor and National Defense;" and "Critical Thinking in a Crisis." They cost one dollar each, cheaper in quantity, and may be taken yearly at \$10.00 with the regular monthly bulletin included.

The Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis was founded in May, 1941. Its purpose is to advance scientific research in psychoanalysis and to conduct seminars for all who are interested. Provision has been made for professional training (through the American Institute for Psychoanalysis). It is therefore a research, educational, and professional training organization.

William V. Silverberg, Lebanon Hospital, New York, is president; Clara Thompson and Stephen P. Jewett, of New York, were elected vice-president and treasurer; Karen Horney was chosen dean of the Institute. Information about the work of the A.A.P. can be obtained from the Secretary, Harold Kelman, 1230 Park Avenue, New York.

The Sociological Research Association met at the Public Administration Clearing House, 1313 E. 60 Street, Chicago, Sept. 5-6, through the courtesy of Louis Brownlow.

The following papers were discussed after having been presented to the membership in printed or mimeographed form. No papers were read and about 90 percent of those present took part in the discussion of each paper. The papers were: Warren S. Thompson, "Average Number of Children per Woman in Butler County, Ohio: 1930," discussants, Read Bain, C. E. Gehlke; Charles S. Johnson, "Personality Development of the Southern Rural Negro Youth,"

discussant, R. Clyde White; Ernest W. Burgess, S. A. Stouffer, and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "Crucial Problems in Methods of Predicting Social Adjustment," discussants, Stuart A. Queen, George B. Vold; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Analysis of Action as Research Operation," discussants, Ellsworth Faris, Talcott Parsons.

A large percentage of the total membership was present, perhaps because of the practice adopted last year of pro-rating all railway fares. It would be an interesting problem for some statistically minded member of the American Sociological Society to find out what it would cost each member if the basic railway fares of all the members were pro-rated. If such a plan proved feasible, it might have three highly desirable results: 1. greatly increase attendance at the national meetings; 2. greatly increase the membership (now only about 1000, whereas there are probably 2500 people teaching sociology in colleges and hundreds of secondary school teachers who should be members of the A.S.S.); 3. diminish the feeling of far-western, south-western, and deep southern sociologists that their regional society membership is more valuable to them than national membership would be. A standard railway fare for all members might do a great deal to diminish divisiveness and to increase the solidarity of the Society. If a letter can go any place in the country for the same cost, why shouldn't a sociologist?—R.B.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

American University of Beirut, Syria. Stuart C. Dodd will arrive in this country for a year's leave, beginning in October 1941. He will finish seeing *The Dimensions of Society* (Macmillan Co.) through the press, complete some other writing, and will be available for lectures, seminars, and possibly some part-time teaching. He should have some very interesting and valuable observations on conditions in the Near East under the impact of war.—R.B.

Butler University, Indianapolis. Richard Dewey, of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor.

University of California. Lynn Smith, of Louisiana State University, taught rural sociology during the summer session.

University of California at Los Angeles. Leonard K. Bloom, formerly of Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, has been added to the newly established department of sociology and anthropology of which Knight Dunlap is acting chairman.

Cornell University. The following men now engaged in graduate work at the institutions named have been appointed to assistantships in the department of rural sociology for the year 1941-42: Ward W. Bauder, University of Nebraska; Alfred P. Parsell, Syracuse University; Harold Eugene Smith, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; and Eugene A. Wilkening, University of Missouri.

Raymond V. Novak, a graduate of the North Dakota Agricultural College, has been awarded a Henry Strong Denison fellowship.

Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política (São Paulo, Brazil). A department of sociology and anthropology has been organized with the following teaching and research staff: Donald Pierson, race problems, chairman; Herbert Baldus, ethnology; Emilio Willems, population and immigration; Bruno Rudolfer, statistics; Sergio Milliet, history; Noemy da Silveira Rudolfer, social psychology; A. R. Müller, anthropology; W. P. Leser, statistics; Cecilia de Castro Silva, and Maria Wagner Vieira da Cunha. Thirteen courses are being given in the department and seventeen graduate students are enrolled.

Harvard University. E. Y. Hartshorne has taken a leave of absence to serve in the Central European Section of the Bureau of Special Information under William J. Donovan, Washington, D. C.

University of Idaho. Paul K. Hatt, of the University of Washington, has been appointed to take charge of all the work given in the field of sociology.

Indiana University. Dinko Tomasic, of Washington University, and formerly of the University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, has been called as assistant professor during the leave of

A. B. Hollingsworth who has been granted a postdoctoral SSRC fellowship to study social organization and social control.

E. H. Sutherland and wife spent the summer touring the western part of the United States. They spent most of their time in Los Angeles.

Werner S. Landecker of the University of Michigan has been appointed instructor for 1941-42 because of A. B. Hollingsworth's absence on leave.

University of Maryland. C. Wright Mills, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been added to the department as associate professor, to replace Logan Wilson, who was called to Tulane University as head of the department.

Peter P. Lejins, formerly of the University of Chicago, has also been added to the staff.

University of Michigan. William Fuson has been called from the University of Wisconsin as instructor in sociology and social statistics.

Michigan State College. During the summer, two institutes were held on the campus under the sponsorship of the department. The Thirteenth Annual Institute of Social Welfare, from July 14-18, brought about 800 social workers, board members, and others to East Lansing for five days of instruction under the direction of state and national leaders. This Institute is sponsored not only by Michigan State College but by the Michigan Welfare League and various state departments.

The second institute was the Michigan Conference on Family Relations. About 50 persons active in counseling, teaching, research, and other aspects of marriage-family work attended and participated in the one-day session held on July 19.

New Jersey College for Women (Rutgers University). Margaret Smith, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been added to the staff as instructor.

New York University. Associate professor H. Harold Axworthy died on August 2, 1941. An Obituary Notice will appear in the December 1941 *Review*.

Northwestern University. Paul Meadows, formerly of Western State Teachers College at Kalamazoo, has been added to the staff.

University of Southern California. William F. Ogburn, of the University of Chicago, was visiting professor during the summer session.

College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois. *The Institute for the Scientific Study of Crime*, 404 N. Hickory Street, Joliet, Ill., has published *Criminology: A Scientific Study of the Modern Crime Problem*, by Eligius Weir, with an introduction by Father Flannagan, of Boys' Town.

Mr. Weir has been Catholic Chaplain of Joliet and Statesville prisons for many years as well as professor of criminology at St. Francis. His book is designed primarily as a college textbook, and emphasizes modern problems and data rather than the historical approach. It can be obtained only from the above address, price \$3.00.

Tulane University. Logan Wilson, formerly of the University of Maryland, has been appointed head of the department to succeed Robert K. Merton, who was called to Columbia.

University of Washington. Robert MacIver of Columbia was visiting professor during the summer quarter.

Felix Moore, who was supervisor of the introductory course, has resigned to accept a position with the Census Bureau. David Carpenter and Frank Miyamoto have been appointed full-time members of the teaching staff. Mr. Carpenter is just completing his work for the Ph.D. from this department and Mr. Miyamoto is a candidate for the doctorate at the University of Chicago.

Norman S. Hayner was appointed by Governor Langlie to make a survey of the four penal and correctional institutions of the state. Jesse F. Steiner, Joseph Cohen, and the following graduate students are collaborating with him: Clarence Schrag, Audrey Kittell James, Alan Bates, and Irving Herman. Mr. Hayner and family are spending the summer in Mexico.

The Social Exhibits Hall, one of the six rooms in the new research unit of the department, was formally opened in May. The materials on display have been taken largely from Calvin F. Schmid's *Social Saga of Two Cities* and *Mortality Trends in the State of Minnesota*. An exhibit for the Puget Sound area is now in preparation and considerable material already has been assembled.

Among the visitors to the department this summer were Read Bain and Edwin H. Sutherland.

Western State Teachers College, Kalamazoo, Mich. Edwin C. Lemert, formerly of Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, has been added to the staff.

University of Wisconsin. J. L. Gillin has completed nearly thirty years of teaching at the University of Wisconsin and will be on leave next year prior to becoming emeritus professor in 1942-43. He has been succeeded by T. C. McCormick as chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology. Courses in the field of social pathology will be taught by Leland C. DeVinney.

Philleo Nash, recently of the University of Toronto, will give a seminar in "Comparative Social Systems" during the first semester.

T. C. McCormick is chairman of a newly created Division of Statistics, which coordinates all statistical courses in the University and supervises graduate work in statistics.

J. L. Miller has been promoted to associate professor in the bureau of economics and sociology in the extension division.

University of Wyoming. George Devereux, formerly of Middlesex University, Boston, has been appointed to take charge of the work in cultural anthropology and to teach in sociology.

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Prolegomena to History. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1916 (University of California Publications in History, vol. IV, pp. 155-292).

Theory and Processes of History. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1941 (negligibly revised reprint of *Processes of History*, 1918, and *Theory of History*, 1925). Pp. x+323. \$3.50.

I

"Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh" (Eccl. 12: 12). Yea, even though this hoary platitude evokes further weariness, isn't it true?

Book review editors are e'en as other men; they too become a bit jaded from time to time. About every three days, apparently, comes the *Publishers' Weekly*, and the direct-mail announcements are as numerous as "the flowers that bloom in the Spring, tra-la." Our bones aching within us, we check off a few "request items," eventually discovering that here as elsewhere we don't always get what we want. Then comes the doleful task of separating sheep from goats, and of consigning the latter either to the purgatory of Unsigned Booknotes or the Hell of Return to Publisher. Mournfully then we herd the sheep into the various Review Heavens: from

the lowly pasture of one hundred words up to the archangelic stalls of two thousand or over. And then the dispiriting problem of who should review what! And the "Too busy" replies! And . . . and . . . and to the *n*th!

But worst is the grinding headache that comes when we survey some of the articles in the main part of the ASR ("Asking your pardon, Editor-in-Chief Bain, and no offense intended"). There, in the footnotes, we see the futility of much of what we have been doing, and of what has been done by book review departments with a history far longer than ours. Mediocrities are quoted at length and cited in profusion, merely because they have written popular texts; significant predecessors and contemporaries are ignored or slighted if they happen not to fit the current fad; useless but "up-to-date" jargon flourishes in weed-like profusion. Do sociologists read books, or do they read book reviews instead? Do they reflect on what they have read, or do they delegate that "arm-chair" exercise to others?

This way madness lies. Suffice it to say that galling doubts like these lead us to assert that we should not restrict our choice of books for review to the latest bound and jacketed wood-pulp. We should be free to turn to the past in our search for the significant. If a book was written one or two or three decades ago, but in 1941 is even more relevant to the problems of our science than when it first appeared, let us turn town criers in its behalf.

Therefore, hear ye! The University of California Press has just brought out, in one nicely printed and well-indexed volume, Frederick J. Teggart's 1918 *Processes of History* and his 1925 *Theory of History*, under the title *Theory and Processes of History*. The present review, however, does not rest in principle on this fact of recent reprint; we should be willing—nay, eager—to review these books with sole reference to the original printings. This is shown by our simultaneous reviewing of Teggart's 1916 *Prolegomena to History*, a work that has not been reissued.

II

In the *Prolegomena*, written at the beginning of his wider career, Teggart gives evidence of his hard-headed empiricism *and* of his theoretical acumen—two traits by no means irreconcilable, whatever the narrow-gauge, single-track minds may say. His basic contention, greatly influenced by Rickert and related thinkers, is that although orthodox narrative history, nationalistic in aim and/or idiographic in emphasis, is obviously feasible, it is not scientific because it is not pervaded by the desire, explicitly stated and methodologically guarded, to find out "how things have come to be as they are." Three quotations of profound import and incisive formulation are inserted in the *Prolegomena* at this point (pp. 161–162). First comes Lankester, next Darwin, then Romanes:

Nature gives no reply to a general inquiry—she must be interrogated by questions which already contain the answer she is to give; in other words, the observer can only observe what he is led by hypothesis to look for; the experimenter can only obtain the result which his experiment is designed to obtain.

About thirty years ago [i.e., 1860] there was much talk that geologists ought only to observe and not theorize; and I well remember some one saying that at this rate a

man might as well go into a gravel-pit and count the pebbles and describe the colors. How odd it is that anyone should not see that all observation must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service!

I think it ought now to be manifest to everyone who studies it that up to the commencement of the present century [i.e., the 19th] the progress of science in general, and of natural history in particular, was seriously retarded by what may be termed the Bugbear of Speculation. Fully awakened to the dangers of web-spinning from the fertile resources of their own inner consciousness, naturalists became more and more abandoned to the idea that their science ought to consist in mere observation of facts, or tabulation of phenomena, without attempt at theorizing upon their . . . import . . . Looking to the enormous results which followed from a deliberate disregard of such traditional canons by Darwin, it has long since become impossible for naturalists, even of the strictest sect, not to perceive that their previous bondage to the law of a mere ritual has been forever superseded by what verily deserves to be regarded as a new dispensation.

The moral drawn from these and like considerations by Teggart is that no "common-sense" historian can possibly gather "all the facts" and present them to his readers in "impartial" fashion. There will be controlling ethnic, national, religious, ethical, or esthetic predilections unless these are held in check by the counter-controls of the scientific bias. Along with much more, he then says (pp. 276-277):

If, however, . . . we might assume that a working hypothesis had been stated, an inference might be drawn as to the effect of this upon the activities of the historical investigator: he would continue to employ the same investigative technique, and would confine his researches to the same area as before, but the aim and spirit of his inquiries would have undergone a complete change. His object would no longer be the creation of an esthetic or philosophical synthesis of a complete whole, but the isolation and determination of the processes manifested in the phenomena with which he deals; he would continue his critical investigation of facts, but always with a view to their bearing upon the central problem of Human Evolution.

Well aware of the fact that Teggart would strenuously disagree, we should add, "In other words, he would become a historical sociologist." Just now, however, we are talking about Teggart; hence this section comes to a close.

III

Next in line is the *Processes of History*, written in 1918. True to his announced methodology, Teggart sets up a hypothesis (p. 53 old ed., p. 253 new ed.):

Stated thus, . . . it becomes evident that everywhere the beginnings of political organization have been determined by the physical disposition of the land. It will have been observed, however, that this determinant influence of routes has been dependent upon the presence of human beings, that it comes into play only in the event of the movement of peoples.

Essentially, he is saying that migrations follow certain routes of travel, and that at particular places (usually end-points) on these routes of travel, the state arises. He then goes on to advance a large number of generally known but usually scattered historical facts which tend to bear out the

hypothesis, indicating, however, that detailed proof of some phases can be presented only in a monograph (and it has been presented in *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, 1939, reviewed in this journal, V, 5 [Oct., 1940], pp. 822-25).

Teggart's originality is shown by the sharp focus of the *Processes*; although Gumprowicz, Ward, Oppenheimer, and other thinkers had set out similar ideas, he alone succeeded in formulating the basic hypothesis in such a way that it admits of a unequivocal "Yes" or "No" (again we refer to the proof of some phases in *Rome and China*). The interest of the *Processes* for the sociologist, however, goes far beyond the political aspects, important though these are. "Transition" and "release" occupy a central point in Teggart's analysis, and these are concepts having intimate relations with our everyday sociological "conflict," "crisis," "individuation," "secularization," "disorganization," and so on. To quote (p. 98 old ed., pp. 278-279 new ed.; pp. 151-152 old ed., p. 308 new ed.):

... transition is always a result of pressure and conflict . . . localization of transition, in place and time, leads everywhere to irregularity and unevenness in the distribution of political institutions . . . the central feature of transition is not merely the substitution of territory for blood relationship as the basis of unity in human groups, but the emergence of individuality and of personal self-assertion, and hence it follows that human advance rests ultimately upon the foundation of individual initiative and activity.

The hypothesis . . . may now be stated in the form that human advancement follows upon the mental release of the members of a group or of a single individual from the authority of an established system of ideas. This release has, in the past, been occasioned by the breaking down of previous idea systems by prolonged struggles between opposing groups which have been brought into conflict as a result of the involuntary movements of peoples. What follows is the building up of a new idea system, which is not a simple cumulation of the knowledge previously accepted, but the product of critical activity stirred by the perception of conflicting elements in the opposed idea systems.

Why is it that, with a few distinguished exceptions such as Park, sociologists have paid little attention to Teggart's hypotheses, concepts, and evidence? Is it because we are so parochial that we recognize nothing as having sociological import unless it bears the sociological label? Certainly a much less scholarly, scientific, and significant work on the same general theme achieved widespread recognition after 1923 under the title *Social* (ah! blessed word) *Change*. Should Teggart have called his 1918 book *Processes of Social Change*? Would we then have deigned to heed it?

IV

The implication of an affirmative answer to this rhetorical question should not be too confidently drawn, however, for truth to tell, Teggart has never been very cordial toward sociologists, and some of us may have sensed that fact. Being human beings, we may have been a bit cool toward the work of a man who has rarely used the words "sociology" or "sociologist" in other

than disparaging senses. As late as 1925, when *Theory of History* first appeared, which is to say just when sociology had been manifesting a remarkable burst of activity and attested results all over the world, Teggart remarked (p. 216 old ed., p. 218 new ed.):

In sociology the field is still divided, as in Comte's system, between the analytical study of "society" (with an ever-increasing emphasis on ameliorative interests) and the discussion of theories of "progress."

To be sure, this *had* been true enough before 1918, but it seems to show little goodwill toward sociology to treat our family skeleton seven years later as though it were still the functioning core of a flesh-and-blood monstrosity. Further, Teggart's steadfast refusal to apply a label more definite than "social institutions" to his department at Berkeley seems a bit lone-wolfish. Always an isolated figure among historians, most of whom appreciated neither his methodological finesse and erudition nor his assault on their cherished foibles, he deprived himself of valuable allies among sociologists.

But this is 1941; bygones should be bygones. Let us consider *Theory of History* for what it is: a treatise on scientific method in the social sciences.

In the earlier chapters, some of the themes of the *Prolegomena* are transposed to other keys and scored for many instruments, but basically they remain the same. Then, in an excellent chapter on Comte, Teggart points out that there is a recognizable difference between the time-bound study of "how things have come to be as they are" and the timeless study of "the nature of things." Illustrations are provided by geology and chemistry respectively. To the reviewer, however, it seems that Teggart unjustifiably absolutizes as wholly time-bound and wholly timeless this undeniable *relative* difference. For example, even the chemist, preoccupied with "the nature of things," is compelled to take account of time, not merely as abstract *t*, but as chronological time, in his researches into the relation of radium and lead. Conversely, the geologist, absorbed in "how things have come to be as they are," must know something about the action of acid on limestone, no matter when that action occurs, in dealing with the problem of cave formation. As I phrased it elsewhere (Barnes, Becker, and Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory*, 1940, p. 29):

The historian's types should perhaps be called "dated and localized types" by way of contrast with those used by the sociologist, which are "undated and non-localized." No socio-cultural types are wholly "timeless" or "spaceless"; like those with which the geologist operates, some chronological and local determinations are always present. Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of *relatively* undated and non-localized types; here the elements of chronology and locality are not in the foreground, as in the case of dated and localized types.

This reservation entered, however, it may be said with much assurance that Teggart's attack on theories of social change taking no account of intrusive factors—e.g., Veblen's technological determinism—is quite warranted. Further, most contemporary sociologists, for all that they have come to their present position by another route, will be inclined to accept

Teggart's "alternative model" of social change. That is to say, they will agree that the Darwinian assumption that change is always gradual, in small increments, and unilinear, is not a firm foundation for all biological, to say nothing of sociological research. As Teggart says (*Theory*, pp. 147-148 old ed., pp. 149-150 new ed.):

It is obvious that investigation will proceed in one way if it is conducted on the assumption of slow, continuous modification, in another if it sets out from observation of the facts of "fixity" and "advancement." In the latter case the problem will be to discover the relation between the two sets of facts. Thus it has been thought that an organism is subject to a process of drilling into habits from which, on occasion, it might be set free by some kind of releasing mechanism. It has been thought that organic forms oppose a certain resistance to change in their life conditions, that this resistance maintains their state unaltered or stable until the tension produced by the disturbing influences reaches a certain height, when a crisis is reached and change ensues. It has been conceived that stability is a result of the operation of processes which control or inhibit the exercise of powers actually possessed by the organism; that this condition will be maintained until some disturbance of equilibrium takes place, through the operation of changes in the environment; that when such disturbances come in, it gives opportunity for variation, and organic forms experience temporary release from the operation of processes manifested in stability or fixity.

So far, *very* good. The paragraph ends, however, with this statement:

... relatively nothing has been done to define the processes manifested in "fixity," or to bring to light the processes shown in rapid "advancement."

Here again there is some unfairness to other social scientists: even in 1925 a great deal of excellent research on just these topics had already been achieved by sociologists, and anthropologists had been productively engaged in such problems for at least a decade. Perhaps Teggart's unfairness arose from his determination to root out the lingering vestiges of the idea of progress as an automatic guarantee of "onward and upward forever." Evidence for this "perhaps" cannot be presented in the diminishing space of this review, but a reading of the chapter on Events in Relation to the Study of Evolution may convince the skeptic that my opinion is not the result of idle speculation. However this may be, we can disregard the lacerations of our *amour propre* in our hearty agreement with Teggart's concluding sentences in *Theory of History*:

... if human advancement is to be assured, the activities of men must be directed by knowledge. This knowledge cannot be acquired by any mere expression of goodwill; it cannot be achieved by even the most complete coöperation with "the mysterious unconscious impulse" which is "the vital principle of betterment." The knowledge upon which the future depends will require the full utilization of the resources which society has accumulated in institutions of learning. The acquisition of this knowledge is the task to which humanists must set themselves in the interests of their fellow men.

Brave words that will bear repeating in 1941!

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD BECKER

¹ See
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No. 3, p

The Managerial Revolution. By JAMES BURNHAM. New York: John Day Co., 1941. Pp. 285. \$2.50.

It is indeed a rare event when a publication of political import merits and receives long and seriously considered reviews from the press of many political colorings. Now that the market is glutted with all manner of evaluative and reminiscing publications, perhaps only a serious attempt at a non-evaluative description of the world today and tomorrow would earn a hearing from diverse sources of political opinion. It is precisely such an attempt which James Burnham has made in *The Managerial Revolution*, and the hearing he merits has been granted.¹

It is not strange that Burnham's departure from the Worker's Party, a Marxist organization, should herald such a work on his part. As an active Marxist one is much too occupied in making gestures at changing the world to devote any systematic effort to a re-examination of totally or partially faith-bound initial assumptions. But now that Burnham has cast off his chafing though only quasi-orthodox garments, he has presented us with what one reviewer has termed a "new and plausible explanation of what is happening in the world."²

An initial caveat must be entered here against Mr. Burnham's overschematization and the absence of adequate documentation. The reader is led through a series of issues and predictions on which Burnham takes a rather firm stand. Yet the available literature and current opinions seem to indicate that matters are somewhat more moot than is indicated by the author's overly neat synthesis of phenomena and by his bold handling of the political crystal ball.

Perhaps the major debatable issue is whether or not managerial society (state collectivism under the rule of a new class: the managers) is actually developing in the world today, or, at least, developing in the manner and tempo in which Burnham asserts to be the case. Reiman's evidence in *The Vampire Economy* serves to cast some doubt here. If the managers are those listed by Burnham (. . . "production executives, administrative engineers, supervisory technicians, plant co-ordinators, government bureau heads and commissioners and administrators")³ one must seriously question whether, for instance, Germany is the 50 percent developed managerial society which Burnham claims it to be.

Moreover, current unrest and rift in Germany casts more than a shadow of doubt on the validity of subsuming government bureau heads and production executives under a single category, and on the feasibility of the correlative implication of coordination of effort between such sub-types of managers. In the cases of the Soviet Union and the United States, respectively the supposedly most and least advanced managerial developments, the case for Burnham's thesis is even less sure. In the former, sheer absence

¹ See reviews in *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Fourth International*, *Time*.

² Malcolm Cowley, "Where the World Is Going," *New Republic*, Vol. 104, No. 17, p. 607.

³ James Burnham, "The Theory of the Managerial Revolution," *Partisan Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 188.

of satisfactory evidence makes positiveness in assertions a somewhat hazardous adventure. As for the United States: if, as Burnham asserts, growing state economic control is concomitant with an increase in the importance of managers, how can we account for that large section of the managerial elite which is manifestly anti-New Deal? As Burnham himself so adequately points out, we cannot any longer believe that the managers are not aware of their own best interests. But Burnham offers no adequate substitute explanation.

Throughout the book one finds himself constantly asking "Why?" to predictions about the probable developments of managerial society. Except for a brief assertion that the managers tend to grow increasingly more intolerant of inefficiency, one finds no examination of the social basis of the motivations of the managerial elite, and of their associated intra- and international orientations. Only residually is the "drive for power" recognized as a potential motivation. In reality, this "drive" can be used as an adequate supplementary explanatory principle once its social-personal genesis has been demonstrated. Moreover, sheer *political* exigencies such as arise in a war situation provide yet another necessary and adequate, though simple, explanatory focus.

Burnham takes cognizance of the problems which arise out of the necessary separation of managerial powers in a developing bureaucratic state. Yet his answer to the vital question of "Who are to be the real bosses?" is not clear. On the one hand, all types of managers are grouped together under a single rubric with genuine coordination of effort implied. On the other hand, a struggle for supremacy between the *political* bosses (presumably personnel administrators) and the actual managers of *economic* production is predicted. Burnham sees the latter emerging victorious with the same inevitability which he so vehemently and rightly condemns in the predictions of his former Marxist allies.

This tendency to oversimplify and schematize manifests itself sharply in Burnham's case against the theory of socialism. Here, simple socialist principles are made to seem simple-minded. Had Burnham argued against a theory of socialism more closely approximating that which he formerly defended, it seems that the case would have been more difficult to make.

The foregoing has done little justice, however, to what this reviewer considers to be the timeliness and penetrating insight which characterizes Burnham's book. Perhaps the critical test of the fruitfulness of a theory is whether or not it serves to explain the data with which it concerns itself more adequately than any other theory about the data. For this reviewer, Burnham's thesis fulfills the criterion and, in addition, leads to the greater understanding of events toward which the book was purportedly oriented. Previously puzzling developments are brought into systematic focus. A basis for predictions has been formulated which gives promise of serving as a source of genuine foresight.

The picture of the future which Burnham paints is not a bright one. The probable absence in managerial society of democracy, traditionally conceived, is no pleasant thought. Yet, in efficiently demonstrating the elimina-

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tion of this democracy to be a probable necessary condition for the success of the managerial revolution, Burnham, characteristically, performs the much-needed service of exposing definitively the temporal nature of "free enterprise economy."

Encomiums seem hardly fitting here after the critical tone of the bulk of the review. Yet encomiums are due. For the book is lucid and carrying in style; provocatively brilliant and bold in analysis and prediction.

The publishers disclose the very interesting information that the book has had an unusually wide sale among the "managers." It would be slightly more than a travesty if, after having forsaken the task of "awakening the proletariat to consciousness of its historical role," Burnham should unwittingly perform this service for the managerial elite.

MELVIN M. TUMIN

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1. *Karl Marx; Selected Works*. Edited by V. ADORATSKY. New York: International Publishers, 1933 (date of Preface). Vol. I. Pp. xxiv+479. \$2.25. Vol. II. Pp. xxiii+694. \$2.25.
2. *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.). New York: International Publishers, 1939. Pp. xiii+364. \$2.00.
3. *World Communism—A History of the Communist International*. By F. BORKENAU. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Pp. 442. \$3.75.
4. *Mein Kampf*. By ADOLF HITLER. Editorial Sponsors—John Chamberlain et al. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. Pp. xxxvi+994. \$3.00.
5. *Die jüdische Weltpolitik*. By ZBIGNIEW KRASNOWSKI. Erfurt: U. Bodung Verlag, 1937. Pp. 149. \$1.50.
6. *Juden hinter Stalin*. By Dr. RUDOLF KOMMOSS. Berlin: Nibelungen Verlag, 1938. Pp. 229.

The student of social thought to whom the 36-volume edition of Marx's and Engel's complete works is inaccessible, or whose German is none too good, will find these two volumes, by the same editor, a great help. Prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, they provide in a compact form the cream of the writings, some of which have been specially translated for this edition. The first volume contains those works dealing for the most part with general questions of theory such as dialectical and historical materialism, socialism, the Marxian theory of the state and Marxian economics. Thus we have the *Manifesto*, *Anti-Dühring*, *German Ideology*, letters on historical materialism, parts of *Capital*, *Wage-Labour and Capital*, and *Value, Price and Profit*. In addition, it contains Lenin's well-known analyses of Marx's teachings, and Lafargue's and Liebknecht's reminiscences of Marx. The second volume contains those historical and political studies wherein Marx attempted to apply his method of materialist dialectics and seek the anatomy of civil society in political economy. Here we have *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (which originally ap-

peared as a series of articles in the *New York Daily Tribune*), *The Class Struggles in France*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, *The Civil War in France*, *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and selected correspondence on the Paris Commune, the Communist League, Ireland, India, and Russia.

These two volumes definitely supersede all previous selections in English, not only in scope but also in accuracy of translation and organization of the material. Adoratsky provides an orthodox preface, and each volume has a name index.

One of the most concise and lucid expositions of the meaning of dialectical and historical materialism known to the reviewer is to be found in the next book on our list, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (pp. 102-131). Apart from this section, it is a dry and uninspiring account of the origin and growth of the Bolshevik party. Being an official history it is loud in its praise of Stalin's leadership and bitterly denounces the later factional disputes which rent the party, and led to the "Degeneration of the Bukharinites into Political Double-Dealers" and the "Degeneration of the Trotskyite Double-Dealers into a White-Guard Gang of Assassins and Spies" (p. xi).

If, as this book claims, "the power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course, and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but in what direction they are bound to develop in the future" (p. 355), it is surprising that to Dr. Borkenau, author of *World Communism*, the record of the Communist International is one of continuous tactical errors and political blunders. His answer to this claim is that "on the fields of history the prize does not go to the man who holds the soundest theory about racing, but to the man who runs best" (p. 37). He maintains that the Comintern is neither the savior of mankind nor its devil but simply a failure. Since Dr. Borkenau was a former member of the German Communist Party and is a sociologist of long standing (author of *Pareto*), his study merits close attention. In a series of absorbing chapters he sketches the Russian revolutionary movement and the Bolshevik revolution; the breakdown of the Second International; the revolutionary upheavals in Europe from 1917 to 1923; the General Strike in England; the Chinese revolution of 1927; Hitler's coming to power in Germany; and the Civil War in Spain. He finds that the activities of the Communist International fall into three distinct periods. In the first period the Comintern is mainly an instrument to bring about world revolution, but with the defeat of the Chinese revolution it lost its last chance to do so. In the second period, and especially from 1929 to 1934, it is mainly a tool in the factional struggle between Stalin and Bukharin. And in the third period, with Fascism victorious in Germany, it is mainly an instrument of Russian foreign policy. Dr. Borkenau has an interesting discussion of the philosophy of factionalism. He traces the emergence of the doctrine that the ruling party must remain in power at all costs; that political deviationists must be ruthlessly liquidated; that frequent purges are therefore inevitable; that truth and party are synonymous terms; that the end justifies the means to the point

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of out-Machiavelling Machiavelli—or Hitler. This doctrine of dialectical morality throws a flood of light—brilliantly treated in Koestler's recent novel, *Darkness at Noon*—on the famous Moscow trials.

There are two points which could bear a more adequate treatment. The first relates to the ineffectiveness of the Second International in preventing the first world war, thus bringing about great disillusionment in the socialist parties, and the role of the Zimmerwald movement in providing an organizational base for Lenin. The second relates to the precarious position of the USSR since 1917, and especially since 1933. Surrounded on all sides by enemies, the Russian leaders subordinated everything else to the survival of the Soviet Union—even to the point of side-tracking the Comintern, entering the League of Nations, and still later, just before the recent war broke out, signing a non-aggression treaty for ten years with Germany. We know now that all these bewildering and devious turns and twists of policy were of no avail. In the Russo-German pact of 1939, Dr. Borkenau (who wrote his book before this event) could see another case where the policy of the Comintern was subordinated to a purely national policy which not only did not save Russia from Hitler's fury, but which in addition demoralized the international working class movement and alienated many liberal groups which had been friendly to the Russian revolution. To this, no doubt, the official history might answer that the survival of the USSR was the absolute consideration. Perhaps the mistake lay in thinking that peace and survival are synonymous, and in assuming that Hitler's war against Britain was simply an "imperialistic" war.

At the present time the future of the Communist International is bound up with the outcome of the war. If the German armies are beaten back, and there is no internal collapse in Russia, communism may gain another accession of strength. It is a strange and ironical event that history should call in the Soviet Union to save the British Empire. It is unlikely that the British Empire will save the Soviet Union.

While the Marxist ideology, in so far as theory is concerned, stems from the broad stream of eighteenth and nineteenth century liberal thought (the materialist philosophy of the former, and the political economy of the latter, with aspirations to complete the French Revolution which had emancipated only the bourgeoisie), National Socialist ideology, as formulated in *Mein Kampf*, is fundamentally a profound reaction against this broad stream. It denies those essentials of liberalism which had been regarded as eternal and immutable—reason and compromise, democracy, political representation, equality, liberty, and pacifism. Instead, it affirms emotion and intuition and decisions arrived at through superior force; militarism and its logical corollary totalitarianism; the rule of the elite, racial chauvinism, and the principle of leadership whereby authority is exercised from above downwards, and responsibility from below upward. There is an illuminating sentence in *Mein Kampf*, which, though written in connection with Hitler's foreign policy, may be taken to epitomize the break of National Socialism with the past: "Not a single obligation of the entire historical period of the nineteenth century which was laid down in that period, can be met by us" (p. 943). "The Jewish doctrine of Marxism," writes Hitler, "rejects the

aristocratic principle in nature; instead of the eternal privilege of force and strength, it places the mass of numbers and deadweight. Thus it denies the value of the individual in man, disputes the meaning of nationality and race, depriving mankind of the assumption for its existence and culture" (pp. 83-84).

No sociologist who wishes to understand the world he lives in and the meaning of the revolutionary forces that have been unleashed by Fascism can afford to neglect this book. He should especially note the chapters treating of nation and race, propaganda, and the conceptions of National Socialism *re* life, organization and personality. This edition makes available the complete and unexpurgated text, carefully translated under the sponsorship of Dr. Alvin Johnson, and abounding in scholarly annotations that help greatly in clarifying the more obscure references in the text.

The next two books on our list are nothing more than "propaganda," and their function is to expand two doctrines that are central in *Mein Kampf*. The first doctrine, to quote Hitler, is that "the world Jew is struggling for dominion over nations" (p. 947). This is the theme of *Die jüdische Welt-politik*, issued by a publishing house that specializes in anti-Semitic literature. The author, who seemingly has no doubts of the authenticity of these infamous forgeries—the Protocols of the Elders of Zion—attempts to show by means of a selection of isolated extracts from the writings of Jewish authors, that world domination is the secret aim of world-Jewry, and their method the fomenting of disorder, unrest and revolution. The second doctrine, to quote Hitler again, is that "the international Jew... rules Russia absolutely" (p. 960). The author of *Juden hinter Stalin*, who is an official of the Anti-Comintern with headquarters in Berlin, proves to his own satisfaction that Jews dominate the Soviet Union and that they are preponderant in the Communist party, in the army, in diplomacy, in industry, and in culture. He seems to have thoroughly digested the passage in *Mein Kampf* which reads thus: "We must never forget that the regents of present-day Russia are common bloodstained criminals; that here is the scum of humanity, which favored by conditions in a tragic hour, overran a great State, butchered and rooted out millions of its leading intellects with savage bloodthirstiness, and for nearly ten years has exercised the most frightful regime of tyranny of all time" (p. 959). In view of Hitler's own record in the last eight years these sentences have a peculiar interest. Furthermore, they justify war. "If we talk about new soil and territory in Europe, we can think primarily only of Russia and its vassal states" (pp. 950-951). *Hitler scripsit.*

J. RUMNEY

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The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement. By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. (Second Printing.) Pp. 100. \$1.75.

The period of the American Revolution was one of the last eras of history to be approached by historians interested in other than the political and

military aspects of historical phenomena. This book, first published in 1926, represents one of the first attempts on the part of American historians to deal with the broader social problems presented by the period.

The work will be interesting to the sociologist because of the author's interest in demonstrating causal relationships, rather than resting content with an idiographic description of the events of the time. Two factors seriously interfere with his efforts, however. The shortness of the book makes impossible anything more than a first step in the direction of complete analysis, and the lack of an explicit theoretical frame of reference contributes to an unevenness of treatment. The discussion of the status of persons, particularly the effects of the Revolution on anti-slavery thinking, and the section concerning the effects of the upheaval on the various religious groups of the Colonies are systematic, rigorously conceived, and suggestive of further research; but the chapters on industry and commerce, on the relation of the Revolution to the land, and that section of the chapter on thought and feeling which does not deal with the religious groups, are little more than summary descriptions of certain phases of the Revolution which the author feels are important. These latter difficulties could have been avoided if the concepts which informed the analysis of status groups and religious groups had been formulated explicitly and then used in exploring the rest of the material.

While the lack of completeness is compatible with the purposes of the author, i.e., the stimulating of further research along similar lines, the lack of theoretical consistency weakens a good deal of the analysis, and with the exceptions mentioned above, certainly destroys the effectiveness of the author's efforts to demonstrate the intimate relations existing between the historical strands which make up the revolutionary period. The exceptions are very important, however, and the very attempt to make such a study indicates that the day when historians and historical sociologists will be able to work together may not be too far distant.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

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The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic, with the Complete Script of the Famous Orson Welles Broadcast. By HADLEY CANTRIL, with the assistance of HAZEL GAUDET and HERTA HERZOG. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. xv+228. \$2.50.

The situation which set off this particular panic is well known. Thousands of Americans who listened to Welles' radio version of H. G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* evidently took it to be a realistic "play by play" description of an invasion by strange Martian creatures. Other listeners were not so credulous and either realized from the outset that it was drama or else, if for the moment misled, took immediate steps to check on the actuality. In fact, the major interest of the authors was to discover (1) by a fair sample the percentage of the listeners who accepted or rejected it as a real event, (2) the economic and educational status of the two groups, (3) to analyze what they thought and did, especially a special sample of 100 who were interviewed,

and (4) to offer some social-psychological interpretations of the findings.

A conservative estimate gives six millions as the number who heard the Welles broadcast. Of these one-fifth lived in the Mountain and Pacific states, and less than one-tenth in the New England area. The balance of the population proportions range between these two. Thirteen percent were from the upper and middle income brackets, and nine from the lowest, with the bulk falling between these levels. As to age distribution, fourteen percent were under thirty years, twelve, above fifty years. Of those who heard it, it is estimated that twenty-eight percent took the broadcast to be news of actual happenings, and of these seventy percent were frightened or at least somewhat emotionally disturbed. And as measured by the attention this panic got from the newspapers, it is clear that the episode aroused great public interest at the time.

Against these statistical facts, the authors discuss various types of personal reaction. The realistic character of the broadcast is evident to those who heard it, or who have read the script. The fact that it was given as news, that people of seemingly great prestige were involved, and that it was presented in highly dramatic form all contributed to its acceptance. Moreover, one-half of the listeners tuned in after the broadcast had begun, and hence were not always aware of its fictional nature; this fact also contributed to the confusion.

On the basis of the interviews of the special sample, the reactions of those who believed it to be a news report were classified into four categories: (1) those who analyzed the internal evidence of the program and knew it was drama; (2) those who checked up successfully to discover that it was a play; (3) those who checked up unsuccessfully and continued to think it a news broadcast; and (4) those who made no effort to check its authenticity. One-third fell into the last class, and twenty-seven percent were unsuccessful in their attempts to check. Of these, all reported being emotionally much distraught.

In the chapter which attempts to discover the nature and operation of critical ability—assuming this would be the quality that made for efforts to check on the would-be events—the authors report, that on the whole, the higher the educational status, the more critical the listeners. Yet fifteen percent of those with high school or better education made no check, and five per cent of those with only a grammar school training made a successful check-up. Of course, the sample is woefully small for such a statistical breakdown, and at best these figures must be regarded as tentative and suggestive.

As to the conditions which tend to inhibit critical capacity, it is pointed out that personality deviations account for most of it. Neither age, sex, nor educational differences, but rather specific emotional stabilities with their own history seem to account for the ability to withstand panic and to retain one's critical faculties. But certain external circumstances must also be reckoned with. The long period of economic insecurity with its attendant emotional anxiety, the 1938 war scare of Europe, the common man's notion

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of the mysterious potency of science, and the thrill of disaster itself (in which fear and attraction are mixed)—all these help explain the particular manifestation in question.

Certain concrete details are interspersed throughout the discussion and one entire chapter is given over to longer narratives from six individuals, three of whom were frightened, the others not. These case studies indicate some of the specific factors in personality structure which seem responsible for the responses to the broadcast.

In the final chapter the authors try to answer the query: "Why the panic?" In doing so they draw heavily upon the psychology of suggestion as it relates to ego manifestations, especially those concerned with self-preservation and the safety of relatives and loved ones. The bewilderment, the confusion, and the inability to define the situation are clear. To avoid, prevent, or offset panic there is need for critical ability and for a deep underlying sense of self-reliance and self-strength. Such qualities were evidently lacking in most of those who took the broadcast to be not fiction but fact.

This somewhat belated review of Cantril's volume is not altogether untimely. World events since that October evening in 1938 when the Welles program went on the air have given us concrete evidence of the serious consequences which may arise from mass panics. This dress rehearsal in America should afford the layman and the social scientist a better idea of some of the psychological factors which lie behind the popular hysteria and fear which grips entire populations exposed to conditions of modern warfare. In fact, had this Welles broadcast occurred two years later there is little doubt that the public reaction would have been even more striking. In these days of impending violence there may well be a practical lesson in this study which the authors did not envisage.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

National Unity and Disunity: The Nation as a Bio-Social Organism. By GEORGE KINGSLEY ZIPF. Bloomington, Indiana: The Principia Press, Inc., 1941. Pp. xix+408. \$3.50.

Zipf ranks the cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants in the United States in order of size in 1930, and claims that their populations then form the harmonic series, $1/1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, \dots, 1/n$. This was not true, however, for earlier censuses. It is in accordance with the properties of the harmonic series that as the large cities grow larger, the number of small cities rapidly declines. Because the national population cannot complete the series to give $1/n = 1$ person, we are in a state of supersaturation, i.e., over-organization into urban communities. Big cities grow at the expense of little cities because, in the economics of production and consumption, the product mass times energy-distance must be a minimum. In some other countries, such as Canada, India, the British Isles, and Germany, the situation is further examined. According to the harmonic criterion, Canada and India are said

to exhibit (crude) balances, the British Isles imbalance, and Germany a developing (crude) balance. By the properties of a harmonic series, if a whole is in balance, no part alone can be. Furthermore, balance indicates homogeneity, imbalance heterogeneity.

Shifting from cities to incomes, the harmonic trend appears between incomes of different sizes in some countries, not in others; and again the meaning is balance or imbalance in the economy. A necessary mathematical inference is that the bigger the incomes of the rich, the bigger must be the incomes all down the line. Finally, the author reveals that even the length of words is entangled in the widespread harmonic web.

The use of the harmonic series by Zipf at once suggests the Rev. Thomas Malthus' famous description, published nearly a century and a half ago, of the relation between population growth and subsistence in terms of a contrast between a geometric series and an arithmetic series. Both are startling mathematical statements; but the chief value of each seems to be rhetorical. The one is probably no more accurate or necessary to the author's argument than the other. It will be recalled that Malthus later discarded his inept mathematical analogy for a more realistic approach.

It is certainly of interest to point out that sizes of cities (incomes, or words), when arranged in order, can sometimes be roughly compared to a harmonic series. This is so, in spite of disrupting questions about the boundaries of the great cities, about the sizes of small cities running together, or about the meaning of a series whose tail represents a fraction of a person (as in the United States). It is necessary to skate far out on very thin logical ice, however, to arrive at the proposition that the sizes of cities (or incomes) in an economic system tend to obey a law of harmonic relationship, and on the strength of that to draw weighty inferences about the health of the national economy from the purely mathematical properties of a harmonic series. For if the author's theory of mass times energy-distance were something more than speculation, it would still contain no premise that would require the sizes of cities to evolve into a harmonic series. Moreover, the value terms, "balance," "surfeit," "deficit," "saturation," "subsaturation," "supersaturation" become only "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals" when it is realized that the implied superiority of a "balanced" series over a "surfeit" or a "deficit" rests on definition, circular deduction, and question-begging terms, but is nowhere independently demonstrated.

Incidentally, factual data contrary to the author's theories are not always noticed. For example, the proposition that "if the whole territory is homogeneous, the parts cannot be homogeneous" is inconsistent with the claim that both the cities of the world and of certain nations are in balanced series.

One would expect the problem of the relation of size of cities to economic efficiency to be approached through carefully controlled economic studies, or, at the worst, through an argument based on generally accepted economic principles, rather than through the spectacular manipulation of an unresisting mathematical formula.

THOMAS C. McCORMICK

University of Wisconsin

Three Centuries of Women's Dress Fashions: A Quantitative Analysis. By JANE RICHARDSON and A. L. KROEBER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940. Pp. iii + 153. 50 cents.

This is a monograph dealing with the changes in women's formal dress styles during the past three centuries. In it the changes are considered on the basis of quantitative analysis by means of a series of exact measurements taken along certain constant points in as many examples of dress as possible. The figures thus obtained are then reduced into yearly and five-yearly averages and treated as statistical matter to be charted in graph and tabular form and considered in terms of an exact science. The figures upon which this entire series is based are taken from measuring fashion-plates and portraits and include examples taken from French, English, and American sequences. The authors explain the use of fashion-plates as due to the necessity of accumulating the sufficiency of measurements which must be obtained in order to apply the statistical method. It seems there are not enough actual dresses extant to provide sufficient data in themselves, given the assumptions of large-sample statistical theory.

There seems to be a certain unsuitability in any theory and method of study which is perforce compelled to ignore the actual material and depend instead upon reproductions. We are familiar with the thoroughly objectionable use of second- and third-hand data in many fields, but in costume work the use of fashion-plates brings with it even more serious objections. The conventionalized human figures upon which the dresses are set have always been marked by a distortion which is an *exaggeration* of the fashion of the moment. This conventionalized exaggeration, furthermore, cannot be dismissed as a constant variant. In 1750 and 1860 waists were drawn impossibly small. In 1804 the human figure was preternaturally slim and elongated. In 1938 all fashion drawing showed an abnormal hip and leg length. Yet many of Dr. Richardson's and Dr. Kroeber's fixed points for measuring are set at exactly these distorted areas. Again, the use of fashion-plates taken from several countries must affect the general average. Any series dealing with the depth and width of the décolletage from 1790-1820 would, for instance, find that the niceties of national taste produced a totally different average figure as between English and French fashion-plates.

Thus the use of fashion-plates for the accumulation of data for the treatment of costume as an exact science seems of somewhat doubtful value inasmuch as the figures must always show an exaggeration which is by no means necessarily present in the dresses themselves, and must furthermore vary from country to country.

If, however, we accept these objections as being inevitable to the method and discount in our minds the exaggerations, the graphs and tables form an interesting corollary to any knowledge of costume. They bear out in visual form the fact already generally accepted, that dress, with some local erratic periods, moves in well defined cycles of about a century in length. The present concern of most workers in this subject now is to relate the stages and stimuli of these cycles into the economic and social fabric of their con-

temporary period. The statistical method does not seem well suited to studies such as these. By confining themselves so strictly within the boundaries in which this method can be applied, the authors appear to have limited themselves to considering only a very small part of the subject. If it is to advance from a matter of theatrical inaccuracies, costume study must be carried much further than mere recognition of the cycle changes. The causes and ferments that work upon and in the changes must also be taken into account. To devise a somewhat complicated method of approach which ignores the general aspect of the problem and treats only of its actual physical stages, and that in terms of reproductions, does not seem to offer a very great improvement over the more conventional and less slavishly "scientific" methods of examining the changes in fashion.

THALASSA CRUSO HENCKEN

Peabody Museum

Sharecroppers All. By ARTHUR F. RAPER and IRA DE A. REID. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x+281. \$3.00.

Sharecroppers All is a readable presentation of Southern problems. What the authors have to say is hardly new to sociologists, and the book is obviously not written primarily for them. Rather it is pitched for the general public which, in spite of *Grapes of Wrath* and other more scientific approaches to the sharecropper problem, has still not been sufficiently aroused to the demand for large-scale constructive action.

The book deals with the immediate present with a minimum of attention to the historical background of the sharecropper system. Particularly useful is the emphasis on the relationship between sharecroppers on the plantation and urban workers whose means of livelihood is little more secure than that of landless farmers. All share directly in the risks of their various industries.

The generous use of case-history, semi-anecdotal material throws current conditions into sharp relief. The well-selected and carefully captioned photographs contribute to this effect.

The authors are concerned with the need for social action, for programs which will be rooted in a "new democratic philosophy of justice and service" and which will override the basic problem of racial injustice. Raper and Reid have produced a sound and useful book.

ELLEN WINSTON

Meredith College

Espaço-Tempo e Relações Sociais. By MARIO LINS. Rio de Janeiro: Rodrigues & Cia., 1940. Pp. 209.

Introdução à Espaciologia Social. By MARIO LINS. Rio de Janeiro: Rodrigues & Cia., 1940. Pp. 44.

It is quite apparent from the first two titles listed above that human ecology has made its impression upon at least one Brazilian sociologist. The *Space-Time and Social Relations* is largely philosophical after the manner of the great philosophers of science of the preceding generation, but not

metaphysical or speculative. Mach, Poincaré, Einstein, and others of the type, are frequently cited. The essential approach of the author to a scientific sociology is through an attempt to apply quantitative analysis to space and time relations in so far as is possible, thus producing a social physics in a much more precise and thoroughgoing sense than either Comte or Quetelet attempted a hundred years ago. Lins would find the bases of sociological principles and processes in the physical, biological, and psychological conditions which shape and form man. Only thus, he thinks, can sociology escape a metaphysical apriorism and be kept concrete and calculable. In this he shows himself essentially a behaviorist as well as a human ecologist.

The *Introduction to Social Spatiology* is a group of papers designed to explain in simpler language the author's chief theses and contentions. He makes a great deal of use of mathematics in his analyses and demonstrations in both books. He differs from ecologists in this country primarily in his greater emphasis upon the physics of social relations and his lesser attention to the psychological consequences of the space-time relations. He also seems to be among the few Latin-American sociologists who are reasonably familiar with the work of the sociologists of the United States. In the larger book he quotes from 19 of these and in the smaller he cites or quotes 15.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

Historiography and Urbanization. Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt. Edited by E. F. GOLDMAN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. ix+220. \$2.50.

Los Angeles: Preface to a Master Plan. Publication XIX, The Pacific Southwest Academy. Edited by GEORGE W. ROBBINS and L. DEMING TILTON. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1941. Pp. xvi+303. 80 photographs, 14 charts and maps, 25 tables. \$3.00.

The first book consists of nine papers by former students of Professor Holt. They deal with colonial development, urban growth, and the writing of history. Bernard Mayo contributes a lively sketch of the rise of Lexington, Kentucky, and of its eclipse by Ohio River towns. O. Crenshaw indicates how voting in the election of 1860 revealed differences of urban and rural economic interests in North and South. William Diamond presents a running commentary upon urban studies in the United States. Although the works cited in this chapter are familiar to sociologists, their logical and chronological arrangement is useful for beginners. The rest of the book seems to be more significant for historians than for readers of this review.

The "master plan" is a compilation of twenty-one papers by various authorities upon physical aspects of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. With characteristic California prevision, it begins with C. A. Dykstra's outlook toward the future. Part II presents background data according to LePlay—*place, people, industry*. Part III deals with special aspects of the structure and their relations—housing and business, streets, and harbor, transportation, and public utilities. The last section is devoted to three dis-

cussions of planning as an index for social progress. The text is brief; the basic statistics appear to be adequate, and the photographs are illuminating.

To this reviewer the most interesting chapters are those describing transportation. Here is the story of a wide, sprawling area, literally ravelled into shreds and patches by thousands of private automobiles. Without a strong central authority to bind these bits into a unified plan, the region is actually "forty suburbs in search of a metropolis." The need of an original stellate scheme, instead of the old grid about rail heads, is evident. Thereby Los Angeles may exemplify a better design for living than that established in urban communities of Europe or on our East Coast.

The editors disclaim intention to present a final blueprint for development of the region. They indicate that social organization and cultural resources "might well become the subjects of companion volumes." They stress the need for cooperation among scholars, government officials and technical experts. Perhaps the practical illustration of this suggestion is the most valuable contribution of the Pacific Southwest Academy to students of social relations elsewhere. What are sociologists at large doing to clarify and direct turbulent currents in their own communities?

HOWARD WOOLSTON

University of Washington

Belgian Rural Cooperation. By EVA J. ROSS. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1940. Pp. 194. \$4.50.

This study of the Belgian rural development joins that important group of social cooperative studies which have appeared since 1925, centering chiefly in the Scandanavian countries. It is replete with descriptive factual material surrounding agriculture and cooperative organization and function, and anchors this description in a wealth of material, chiefly Belgian in origin.

Miss Ross has not made the mistake of attempting a treatment of the cooperative movement as a singular development, pulling itself along by its own tug-straps, or of placing it alongside of some other movement for nourishment, as did many writers on Denmark who systematically referred back to the folk school movement for explanation. The author properly seeks an explanation in the total interplay of cultural and material conditions, and in the relationships drawn between cooperative organization and other aspects, political, governmental, and social, of the more external phases of this socio-economic development.

But she never finds that explanation. Having adopted the right method and approach, the author gets absorbed in the description of the practical and functional and neglects the more analytical treatment of the subject. She professes a deep interest in the theory of cultural change, as well as in the alleviative nature of cooperation; but beyond mention of "the innumerable little villages of the country," the cooperative role of the parish priest, "Flanders . . . the classic land of associations of all kinds . . .," and the almost automatic processes of adjustment and adaptation, there is little else to whet the appetite of the sociologist.

Nowhere, as yet, in all the literature of European cooperation do we have a thorough-going investigation and analysis of the social context of these significant, indeed all-important social movements. Myrdal in Sweden speaks likewise of the "cultural atmosphere" of cooperative habit, the "reflex morality of law-abiding people," and "established folkways." Axelsen Drejer, one of the most important Danish writers on the subject, does the same for Denmark. He refers back to the "cultural standpoint of the common people," "certain traits of character," and "the Dane's original democratic disposition." These are only the starting points, not even junctions, in the difficult journey of social explanation. What was the pre-existing group organization? How its origin and what its history? Why have certain peoples responded to this comparatively new technique and others have not been able to? What specifically lies behind the folkways?

This book is much better than most on European cooperation, but it poses too big a problem for itself; as a forerunner it may prove of great value—the fates willing.

JOHN R. BARTON

University of Wisconsin

Farmers in a Changing World. The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1941. Pp. xii + 1215. \$1.50.

Sixty-nine authors—mostly of the U.S.D.A. staff—under the direction of Gove Hambidge, editor, and Marion Julia Drown, assistant editor, have collaborated in the production of this significant volume. "Significant" because it is, I believe, the first time the department yearbook has been devoted exclusively to the discussion of the social and economic relations of our agricultural people. Together with the sister volumes for 1938 and 1939, the social scientist interested in rural social problems has a body of source material of great value. The economist, the political scientist, the home economist, the human geographer, the historian, the social psychologist, the sociologist, even the anthropologist and the philosopher, will find useful references in these volumes.

The book is organized under main headings as follows: Part 1, The Farmer's Changing World; Part 2, Agriculture and the National Welfare; Part 3, the Farmer's Problems Today and the Efforts to Solve Them; Part 4, Farm Organizations; Part 5, What Some Social Scientists Have to Say; Part 6, Democracy and Agricultural Policy; and Part 7, Essentials of Agricultural Policy. In the appendix is a condensed but useful chronology of American agricultural history.

In addition to the discussion of the complicated economic problems of agriculture, there is much material bearing on the larger questions of interrelations of city and country and their mutual interdependence; the urbanization of the country; patterns of living (the title of one of the chapters); the problems of education; and other phases of social organization. It is the "recent social trends" book for American rural life for 1940. This book deserves a wide reading; much wider than it will probably get in spite of the generous free distribution through congressional delegations. Teachers

of the social sciences might assume some responsibility for putting it within reach of their students. Apparently, it does have "reader interest." Soon after it was published, a Congressman suggested the desirability of an investigation of the Department of Agriculture because, judging by the year-book, the department had Communistic leanings.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

Hopousia: Or The Sexual and Economic Foundations of a New Society. By J. D. UNWIN. With an Introduction by ALDOUS HUXLEY. New York: Oskar Piest, 1940. Pp. 475. \$4.00.

This book is the sequel to the author's *Sex and Culture*, published in 1934. In the earlier book Unwin set out to test the Freudian hypothesis that civilization is correlated with sexual repression. In the light of the evidence which he thought was demonstrated in the available anthropological and historical literature, he concluded that Freud was right. In the present book Unwin depicts in somewhat vague outline a hypothetical (sometimes he says "an experimental"), possibly a Utopian, society, in which sexual impulse is suitably restrained, and therefore a society which develops maximum energy for building the future. In this hypothetical society two conditions are essential if it is to display maximum energy indefinitely: (1) a way must be found to make a high degree of sexual restraint acceptable, and (2) the necessity exists of discovering an economic system which fosters and encourages the display of energy, rather than discouraging it, as ours does.

To cope with the problem of sexual restraint required to generate energy he has two types of marriage: an alpha marriage for the energetic, strictly monogamous and preceded by pre-nuptial continence; and beta marriage, terminable at will and not demanding pre-nuptial continence.

The greater portion of the book is devoted to the criticism of certain imperfect economic arrangements of present day white civilization which check and hamper the development and display of energy, ranging from modern money and banking, through our system of production, distribution, and land ownership, to the organization of labor and the professions. Intermittently he sketches in the economic, political, and social structure and practices of Hopousia ("Where").

The book shows an extraordinary range of scientific knowledge; it includes much sound thinking about idealists and ideals, reformers and reforms; the present system is subjected to trenchant criticism which one must respect, even if one disagrees with his basic premises. But he falls into the same difficulty that he criticizes in others; the structure of society is supported by a single pillar (or—to change the figure—a single gate alone blocks the route to Hopousia). Strengthen the foundations of the pillar and the superstructure built on it will be ideal. For the general run of sociologists and economists the book will be adroit to the point of suspicion; at the same time it will give them a wholesome shaking up.

J. O. HERTZLER

The University of Nebraska

Robert Dale Owen: A Biography. By RICHARD WILLIAM LEOPOLD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+470. \$4.50.

Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877), eldest son of the more famous Robert Owen, British socialist and reformer, came to the United States late in 1825 to be associated with his father in the promotion of the latter's cooperative colony at New Harmony, Indiana. The experiment soon collapsed, but Robert Dale Owen spent most of the remainder of his life in this country, of which he became a naturalized citizen. He had a career of amazing versatility, working for a number of different reform and radical causes, including birth control, free thought, Negro emancipation, and, toward the end of his life, spiritualism. He was an active politician during his middle years, serving in Congress as member from Indiana for two sessions and, somewhat later, as minister to the then Kingdom of Naples. The present biography, which is provided with excellent bibliographies and an index, appears to have been carefully prepared from abundant documentary sources and is, on the whole, interesting reading. Sociologists will perhaps find it useful chiefly as a longitudinal section of the social and intellectual history of the United States through the middle half of the nineteenth century.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Preface to Eugenics. By FREDERICK OSBORN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. xi+312. \$2.75.

It would be interesting to know what Sir Francis Galton would think of this book if he were here to read it. There is no doubt that he would recognize it as scholarly, interesting, and informative. He would doubtless also be sympathetic to the spirit of social responsibility that permeates it. But it is almost certain that he would be amazed at the characteristics developed in early maturity by the infant that he launched so enthusiastically three-quarters of a century ago. Indeed, it is perhaps not quite accurate to speak of "maturity" at all; perhaps a more accurate word would be "adolescence." For this book is very accurately designated a "Preface"—it does not profess to be a thorough treatment of eugenics itself in its full development.

The early notions of the possibility and means of improving basic human stocks were naturally and necessarily derived from man's experience with domesticated plants and animals. The spirit of early eugenics might very well be epitomized, "Let's do with human beings what we have so successfully done with horses, dogs, and wheat." It has taken the two generations that have elapsed since the publication of Galton's first work to reveal even partially the impossibility of doing with human beings what human beings do with horses and dogs. The specific particulars with respect to which the methods of the barnyard and stud cannot be applied to the mating of human beings are numerous and positive. They cannot be rehearsed in this brief review, but they are now quite familiar to the close students of eugenics, and the realization of their weight and scope has left modern eugenicists somewhat baffled. The necessity of abandoning as a chief reliance of eugenics the kind of selective mating that is so effective with subhuman species has been a rather bitter pill.

Frederick Osborn has risen to meet this situation as courageously and intelligently as any man in this country. With a long background of intense interest in the subject, and an original close connection with its more biological developments, he now realizes frankly that eugenics is largely a sociological enterprise, and that its deep biological connotations cannot be divorced from profound environmental and experiential factors. He also recognizes that eugenics is one aspect of the great population question, and logically includes within his book a thorough treatment of the larithmic aspects of the subject. Consequently, in this volume we find numerous subjects treated which would have been regarded as impudent interlopers in the earlier treatises on eugenics.

Mr. Osborn looks upon man as an intricate organism, with traits, characteristics, possibilities, and limitations, which in each individual are the result of a complex of genetic and environmental forces. His study accordingly leads us into such seemingly remote areas as the methods of child rearing of the Arapesh and Mundugumor tribes of New Guinea, the superiority of breast feeding of infants, the psychological influence of grandparents upon children, the opposition of the Catholic Church to birth control, and so on through a long list of sociological phenomena. And this is as it should be. Any program of eugenics that fails to take account of all the multitudinous influences that affect human personality is doomed to failure from the start.

Accordingly, one wishes to get a comprehensive picture of the development of the eugenics movement in the United States—where things have moved farther than in most other countries—can do no better than to make a careful perusal of this book. He will find himself in touch with a fascinating array of factual information and theory, and will experience a stimulus to practical activity for the importance of human quality proportionate to his own social consciousness and belief in the validity and effectiveness of deliberate social effort.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

New York University

Foundations of American Population Policy. By FRANK LORIMER, ELLEN WINSTON, and LOUISE K. KISER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. xiii+178. \$2.50.

This book is a notable contribution in a relatively new field of thought—new in our modern civilization. Lorimer, the senior author, has prepared for his task of outlining policies, by previous work covering many years preparing *Dynamics of Population* (in collaboration with Dr. Osborn) and *Problems of a Changing Population*, issued by the National Resources Committee in May 1938. This trinity of publications constitutes the outstanding contribution made by American workers in the field of population studies. Dr. Winston and Dr. Louise Kiser have also made notable contributions in a narrower field.

The general content is indicated by the chapter headings "Population trends in the United States," "Labor supply and natural resources," "Consumption patterns and population trends," "Population, investment, and economic enterprise," "Social aspects of population change," "The changing pattern of the family," and "Toward a national population policy." The existing data relating to each of these subjects, except the last, is summarized in an admirable manner. The last chapter contains these sentences near the beginning:

The real alternatives in the long-range prospects for the total population of the United States are not rapid population increase or stabilization but rather stabilization or decrease. In fact, a period of population decrease beginning a few decades hence seems almost inevitable. By that time, if present trends continue, the intrinsic reproductivity may be only three-fourths or two-thirds of that required for permanent population replacement. Associated with such long-range trends is the possibility of the approximate equalization of fertility rates between rural and urban areas with a consequent improvement of economic conditions in areas where population presses heavily on natural resources.

With the first two sentences the reviewer fully agrees, but the 1940 Census indicates a decline since 1930 of 14 percent in the urban reproduction rate and of 14 percent in the rural.

Basic to possible constructive measures, in the opinion of the authors, is: "Provision for equality of opportunity in different parts of the United States is a fundamental consideration in the determination of a national population policy." This objective leads to six "tentative and experimental" suggestions: (1) a positive program of economic progress; (2) measures to moderate the economic handicaps experienced by families with several children; (3) extension of the principle of voluntary parenthood; (4) equality of opportunity in provision of medical services and educational facilities; (5) provisions to facilitate activities by mothers, outside the home, but recognizing "that the requirements of motherhood necessarily restrict the opportunities for contributions along other lines"; (6) implementing of a population policy by communities, counties, cities and States, as well as by the National Government—"In a democratic and scientific culture, sound population trends can be expected only if society is largely motivated by social and cooperative ideals."

This is an excellent book, with much that the reviewer would commend and little he would criticize. It is a pioneer effort to find a solution to the problem of retaining scientific progress and division of labor without drifting so far from the rural family and toward dependence upon the state as to cause a rapid decline in population.

O. E. BAKER

*Bureau of Agricultural Economics
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.*

As Victim to Victims. By JAMES SAMUEL STEMONS. New York: Fortuny's, 1941. Pp. 268.

From a Negro post-office worker comes the refreshing suggestion that Negro and Jewish leaders should seek to isolate the reasons within their own control for their unfortunate positions in American society, and orient their efforts toward the eradication of these factors. This is, of course, anathema to such Jewish thinkers as Lewis Browne, Louis Golding, and Ludwig Lewisohn, and to the Negro followers of DuBois. But Stemons is no "White folk's nigger." Rather, his thinking on the subject of minority group persecution led him to believe that the circularly reinforced prejudices involving the Negro and Jew must be broken by the minority groups themselves. For him the ethical question of what is just and right is quite irrelevant to the purpose at hand; namely, the improvement of the economic and social position of the minorities. This view of the problem is sociologically sound.

Stemons' program for the Negro has two principal foci. The one centers upon the cogent observation that the Negro's cue is to seek and demand equal *economic* opportunity, and not civil or political "rights" through enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution, etc. The latter approach has proved fruitless in the past, and even were it carried to extremes, it would avail the Negro nothing. The other focus is upon the Negro's behavior which is open to public gaze. The Negroes are urged to do all in their power to eliminate behavior among their group that is reprehensible in the eyes of the dominant White group. Stemons has in mind such offenders as the political pawn, the prostitute, the exploiting gambler, and those members of the race who offend by their blatant deportment in public.

The sharp practice of the Jewish business man is selected as *the* identifying and disabling characteristic of the Jew. The solution is sought in the establishment of a Jewish Fair Trade League to control the practice, and to reimburse those customers suffering losses from transactions with any of the members of this organization. Many will disagree with Mr. Stemons with regard to his analysis of the crux of the Jewish problem, but fortunately the merit of his general plan does not rise or fall on this point.

His position rests upon an awareness of the loci of power in American society. Any program for minorities which takes no account of this power placement, and which attempts to *force* its ends into being, is doomed to failure. Past attempts to enlist power from external sources to do battle with oppressors have not been conducive to gain for the minorities. The author does speak of "demanding" equal economic advantages and is not explicit concerning the means of substantiating the demands. His recognition of the logical priority of the economic needs, however, stands on its own merit.

In brief, Stemons' program for minority groups entails an adherence to the norms of behavior of the conservative majority, thus furnishing a less accessible target for prejudicial activity. It is certainly realistic.

RICHARD DEWEY

Butler University

Pragmatism and Pioneering in Benoy Sarkar's Sociology and Economics. By NAGENDRA NATH CHAUDHURY. Calcutta: Chuckervetty Chatterjee and Co., Ltd., 1940. Pp. ii+152. Rs 3/.

English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism. By BRUCE TIEBOUT McCULLY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 418. \$4.50.

Benoy Sarkar, an Indian scholar of high repute, has been described as an institution in himself. As a young man he was stung by the "idealistic modernism" of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda School. How much of an idealistic modern pragmatist he is can be gathered from a speech he gave before an anniversary celebration of the saint Ramkrishna. The speech is quoted in full (pp. 25-36). Sarkar is a product of the old and the new—the old that has been influencing Indian thought for many millenniums, and the new which has not yet become indigenous. Sarkar left school at the threshold of a brilliant career in either the civil service (most coveted by the young intelligentsia of his time) or in politics. Instead he preferred a career in education. Schools and colleges in India were filling young minds with multitudinous facts without reference either to the Indian culture that was or the one that was coming. This was disapproved by many Indian leaders of the time who ushered in the Swadeshi movement. Sarkar joined them. This was the beginning of Indian Nationalism. Sarkar's activities are as numerous as his writings are voluminous and in keeping with his encyclopedic knowledge in diverse fields. He has travelled extensively, and unlike ordinary travellers, he has taken time to study the condition of the people of the countries he has visited. Thus he gave India a completely new picture of the outside world. His views of race and culture and nationalism are refreshingly new. Sarkar sets the tone for modern India in these words:

Young India of today is, therefore, not to approach culture or dharma in terms of geographical limits or indigenous, i.e., national race ideals, but drink of it and add to it as a growing stream of universal life-promoting truths; and thereby compelling the world's recognition of its powers and services as a living member of the human race (p. 13).

Chaudhury knows Sarkar, understands and appreciates him, and in the small compass of 152 pages has given a clear picture of what Sarkarism is, and its place in nationalist India today. This book should be a great help to any scholar who wishes to understand modern India.

The task of Dr. McCully's book is to trace the way in which English education was introduced to India, and the part it played in the rise of Indian Nationalism. The book is well-documented and contains more than eleven hundred quotations and references. The author's description (caricature?) of the English-educated Indians of the 19th century is well done. His sketches of "nationalist doctrines," though not very illuminating, show that India was groping for something. He rightly points out that Indian languages had no word for "nation." Swadeshi and Swaraj were not yet coined, but they are not mere political concepts. Are not the Hindus and Moslems incapable of thinking of statism without reference to people?

It seems to this reviewer that if the author had asked himself how the thirteen American colonies became a nation and had used his answer as a frame of reference, his selection of material might have been considerably different, and the book would have given a clue to understanding modern India. Chaudhury's study of Sarkar's India begins where McCully leaves off.

M. N. CHATTERJEE

Antioch College

And Still the Waters Run. By ANGIE DEBO. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. x+417. 2 maps. \$4.00.

This is the story, told with dignity and without muck-raking and abundantly documented, of the Five Civilized Tribes from the days of the "Trail of Tears" (migration from the Gulf States to Oklahoma) to Commissioner Collier's experiment in tribal democracy under the New Deal. By treaty exchanges the Five Tribes once owned all Oklahoma save the Panhandle; but they allied themselves with the Confederacy in the Civil War and were later forced to relinquish the western half for their "rebellion." This was only the first of successive despoliations of Indian lands.

All the Civilized Tribes were rapidly converted to Christianity after the Removal. The famous Sequoyah "invented" a Cherokee alphabet, and a newspaper was published in it following 1828. But despite these acculturations to white mores, the old tribal communal tenure of lands (with individual usufruct of portions cultivated) warred basically with the aggressively individualistic, competitive American ideal of the times. An increasing clamor arose for the breakup of communal holdings into individual tenure; and with the founding of the Oklahoma Territorial Government in 1890 it was early evident that mere treaties would no longer block "progress."

Eastern philanthropists, well-meaning but ethnologically naïve, in the end unintentionally collaborated with the worst of the "grafters" under the allotment; they had an almost mystical faith in the power and value of private ownership to transform the Indian. Well-intentioned, the Lake Mohonk Conference advocated:

Abolition of the Indian Bureau and all similar protective agencies, State rule to extend over all Indians, extinction of tribal governments, full U. S. citizenship, and ownership in severalty of alienable and taxable lands.

The Indian was to be thrown, culturally unprepared, into the free competitive struggle of western society:

His status would be the same as the status of every man in this free country ought to be . . . he would find his own level . . . [and] he might as well find it now as in fifty years from now, for until he does it his presence, enjoying these special favors and exemptions, will be a terrible drag on this country.

The Curtis Act of 1898 promptly abolished tribal tenure without the Indians' consent, and they, their touching belief in the inviolability of treaties outraged, countered with the "Snake Uprising" of 1901 under Crazy Snake

—a typical, despairing, lost-cause, conservativist movement. Ironically, the greatest oil finds (one individual drew \$500 a day royalties) were in the "worthless" sections arbitrarily assigned to the "Snakes," many of whom refused to accept ownership in severalty.

The bulk of the book is concerned with the Sargasso Sea of litigation following allotment: the Thirty Thousand Land Suits, the phoney "relatives" sponsored by rival oil companies, the fantastic story of the Jackson Barnett estate and its thousand "claimants," fraudulent guardianships and marriages, kidnaping and even murder; the Indian Office-Oklahoma politicians' feud; the quashing of the proposed State of Sequoyah through national political considerations; and the over-eagerness of a small denominational college for an endowment which precipitated intra-church disputes and lost the legacy. Small wonder that "Indian Land Titles" is notoriously the most difficult law course in the State university!

The narrative tone of the book is dry, unsentimental, and objective. It will be of interest to social psychologists, acculturationists, historians, and students of international law, but hardly to ethnologists in its paucity of ethnic information. The volume is a good example of the usual fine book-making of the Princeton University Press.

WESTON LA BARRE

Rutgers University (N. J. C.)

New Haven Negroes: A Social History. By ROBERT AUSTIN WARNER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+309. \$3.50.

This book describes the history of the Negroes of New Haven in terms of their relations with American history in general, and including those islands of the West Indies which have contributed a number of immigrants to our population. About one-third of the volume is devoted to the period since 1900.

Because of its historic contacts, the city of New Haven is a strategic point in which to study the interaction between a local racial situation and a national one, and it is the merit of this volume that the author has made this interaction a guiding clue to the understanding of his problem. In addition, the book is of value as a description of the Negro in a New England environment, including the role of the Negro in the Abolitionist movement, and the effects of the latter on the status of the local Negro population. It is true that this involves a review of much that is familiar to the student of Negro history, but such material is needed if the more general reader is to develop some perspective.

The Negroes of New Haven were granted their freedom with the General Emancipation Act of 1784, but many had secured individual freedom before this date. But, as has been generally the case in the North as well as in the South, legal emancipation did not mean social or economic equality. The Abolitionist controversy did not at first help the New Haven Negroes, but the cumulative changes flowing from the antislavery movement and the Civil War transformed social sentiment sufficiently to give them important political, educational and other rights. These have helped them to develop

culturally. However, the economic changes of the past generation or two have counteracted the political and educational advances: the Negro here, as in many other regions of the country, has been losing out economically. Thus we have the interesting situation of American democratic mores permitting advance in political and educational directions but exercising a virtual veto upon economic progress. In this case the economic factor lags rather than leads.

The book is well supplied as well as supported with factual material. The interpretation is balanced and the judgments shrewd in their details. There is awareness of sociological concepts and insights, even though the method of presentation is chiefly historical. No attempt is made to set forth a general hypothesis which might clarify the nature of New Haven as a "specimen study." This may not be called for in a social history, but it appears to weaken somewhat the integration of the materials from a more purely sociological standpoint.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

American Youth, An Enforced Reconnaissance. Edited by THATCHER WINSLOW and FRANK P. DAVIDSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xv+216. \$2.50.

This book is difficult to review briefly and as a whole because it is a collection of about a dozen essays, not organically related and without unified impact on the reader. Among the authors are Aubrey Williams, Mary H. S. Hayes, Robert Ulich. Most of the volume is readable and fairly stimulating.

Though there are pages of interesting history and penetrating analysis, one finds no satisfying answers to questions such as these: Should the schools, in cooperation with government and industry, provide practical work for pay? Should young people of all classes, and perhaps both sexes, be drafted? Who should be in charge of those engaged in non-military activities? How can young people of today avoid the frustration of irresponsible matings? How should marriage be subsidized or otherwise adjusted to those who obviously cannot meet its traditional economic obligations? The subject of sex relations, so desperately important to youth, is ignored throughout the book.

Because the ideas of William James have been repeatedly borrowed without recognition, it is gratifying to find his *Moral Equivalent of War* in the appendix. But his willingness and ability to draw up blueprints for the future make the other essays seem feeble in comparison. Though the authors of *American Youth* have spent their best years studying the needs of young people, most of them have failed here to follow James out on the limb of definite proposals for action. This failure makes the book disappointing. It is cold comfort to reflect that the tradition of liberalism leaves such proposals not so much to the experts as to the politicians.

GERALD BARNES

High Bridge, N. J.

The Youth of New York City. By NETTIE PAULINE MCGILL and ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. xxvi+420. \$3.50.

This is a study of urban youth in an economic depression. Using census tracts as a sampling base, the New York Welfare Society in 1935 interviewed approximately nine thousand youths, or one percent of the city's estimated million persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four. The main topics of inquiry revolved about education, family life, employment, and recreation; a complete time record of all activities was taken for each individual, covering a "typical" week in the youth's life. Special attention is devoted to the Negro youth in the sample.

The tone of presentation is pleasantly dispassionate, although the authors express the hope "that there will be forthcoming . . . that combination of social vision and energy that is necessary to put these facts to immediate use." Sociologists may be grateful for a survey which is carefully set up and painstakingly thorough in execution, but which makes no pretensions beyond that of being a good survey. Here is a picture of the youth of a great metropolis "in normal life situations," based on a carefully selected sample of a well-defined universe. It should be useful.

There are ninety tables in the text and eighteen elaborate tables in the appendix. The latter also contains a note on the scope and method of the survey, the representativeness of the sample, as well as a copy of the schedule used in the interviews. The index is somewhat skimpy.

ROBERT SCHMID

Vanderbilt University

Dealing with Delinquency: Yearbook of the National Probation Association, Nineteen Hundred and Forty. Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York, 1940. Pp. 341. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

This volume contains twenty-two papers presented at the annual conference of the National Probation Association held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 24-28, 1940. Many aspects of delinquency prevention and treatment are dealt with in a practical way by probation and parole officers, child guidance workers, lawyers, judges, psychiatrists, and others.

Some of the more outstanding of the many aspects of the problems of delinquency discussed in the various papers can be briefly noted here. It has been demonstrated by the Chicago Area Project that communities can be organized to tackle social problems cooperatively. Probation personnel, by talks, movies, and conferences in schools, are trying to convince the youth of the nation that "crime does not pay." Juvenile courts are increasingly calling upon other community agencies and resources to help them in dealing with children brought before the court; and there is a tendency toward the referral of behavior problem children directly to other social agencies rather than the court. More attention is being paid to the child after his release from a correctional institution. Attempts are being made to evaluate the success and failure of treatment methods, particularly the factors that seem to be associated with failure. The American Law Institute

has adopted a model act setting up a Youth Correction Authority for the treatment of convicted persons under twenty-one according to the character of the individual rather than his crime. In effect, the act extends the juvenile court philosophy of treatment to an older age group. The Federal Government is advancing its program on all fronts for the rehabilitation of the youthful Federal offender. There is a new emphasis in dealing with sex offenders. Not only is an extension of case work being advocated in the field of probation, but group work is being stressed as a part of case work practice. There is a more careful selection of cases for psychiatric treatment.

Some more general subjects are discussed, such as the question of combining the administration of parole and probation; the supervision of probation departments and personnel; and the publicizing of probation and parole programs through the use of press and radio.

Of considerable value is the digest of new legislation and legal decisions affecting juvenile courts, probation, and parole, in the eight States which held legislative sessions in the off-year 1939-40. Included also is a summary of the year's work of the Association.

The volume is indexed, which makes it a handy guide to the latest ideas and accomplishments of leaders out in the field.

H. ASHLEY WEEKS

State College of Washington

The Criminality of Youth. By THORSTEN SELLIN. Philadelphia: The American Law Institute, 1940. Pp. 116. \$1.50.

Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles. Volume III: Pacific Coast States, 1940. New York: The Osborne Association, Inc., 1940. Pp. ix+417.

Sellin's *Criminality of Youth* is a condensation of reports made to the American Law Institute as an aid in the preparation of a model for State legislation for youthful offenders. Especially comprehensive data are presented on percentage of youths among criminal offenders, incidence of crime at various age levels, recidivism, the relationship of recidivism to age, and the relationship of age at time of first offense to recidivism. The statistical data of this report are of the highest value for the limited questions dealt with, in every case being the most comprehensive available; and those on the recidivism of youth, although fragmentary and mostly from foreign sources provide the only information of the sort we have. The chief difficulty with the report is the paucity of analytical interpretation of the data presented, an outstanding example being failure to mention an age factor of opportunity for recidivism. There are more chances for the youthful first offender to be a recidivist than for older ones, and this differential has been ignored. The broader implications of the data are only casually mentioned and then in only the most obvious way. After a very careful description of information which must have required many hours of collection and tabulation, the conclusion arrived at comes as a distinct anticlimax: "Adequate treatment measures for the youth group are needed."

The third volume of the *Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles* describes seven Pacific States institutions in detail as they were in 1940. The procedure of study and the method of presentation were the same as in the earlier volumes. The fundamental requirements for an effective worth-while institutional program are repeated in somewhat elaborated form in the introduction of this volume. Both favorable and unfavorable aspects of the institutions are reviewed in detail, and an adequate bibliography on juvenile delinquency is appended. The value of the *Handbook* to the administrators of such institutions cannot be questioned, as it enables each to compare his own institution with others throughout the country. The recommendations for improvements also are of great value as guides and motivating factors for change. The reports provide excellent case studies of institutions of all grades of efficiency, and are therefore of value for the general student of juvenile delinquency and crime. But it is unfortunate that the study of institutions could not be completed within a shorter period of time. Only twelve States have been reported on within a period of three years, and at the same rate of publication information on the final States will not be comparable to that on the ones first investigated.

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles. New York: The Osborne Association, The National Society of Penal Information, and The Welfare League Association. Vols. I (The West North Central States) and II (Kentucky-Tennessee), 1938 and 1940. Pp. xii+431 and ix+293.

A nation-wide survey of the 109 state and Federal training schools for delinquent juveniles is being undertaken by the Osborne Association. These first two volumes report the results of the survey of the thirteen institutions in the West North Central States: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota; and the six in Kentucky and Tennessee. The aim of the series is to evaluate how thoroughly the institutions perform the task of re-educating delinquent boys and girls into well-adjusted, law-abiding adults.

Although by law all institutions for delinquents have been established as training schools rather than "places of punishment or revenge," only one, Ormsby Village in Kentucky, has developed high enough standards to carry out the training program in a professional and humanitarian manner. Others approximate this idea, but many are backward and ineffectual, dominated by a strictly custodial and punitive approach to their problem. The outmoded forms of corporal punishment which still prevail are "shocking." Many of the buildings are characterized as fire traps. The majority of the administrations are ill-paid, understaffed, and dominated by partisan politics and patronage. Medical care is insufficient. Programs in the fields of education and religion are inadequate. Only Ormsby Village has even fair facilities in the fields of psychiatry, psychology, and social work. The definite impression created by the reports is that practically all the institutions are failing to serve the best interests of the children under their care.

It is encouraging to note that even before the publication of these volumes the governors of at least two states used them as the basis for making appeals for improvements, and that other authorities in other states corrected certain outstanding abuses. In only a few instances have authorities taken offense at the reports. It is hoped that the survey will be completed before many years.

H. ASHLEY WEEKS

State College of Washington

Delinquency Control. By LOWELL JULLIARD CARR. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. xiv+447. \$2.50.

In a general sense this book might be regarded as a challenge to our democratic value system by raising the question as to whether, within our existing cultural framework, we can, by utilizing completely our available knowledge and techniques, solve a costly social problem; namely, juvenile delinquency. More specifically, Carr has amassed all of the essential current knowledge and data relating to four elements, each constituting a section of the book, which he considers necessary for delinquency control; namely: (1) research revealing the etiology of juvenile delinquency; (2) specific techniques useful for case detection, diagnosis, treatment and prevention; (3) the type of social action necessary to implement these techniques to their fullest utilization; and (4) the social organization, as reflected in the institutions developed out of social action, which must function continuously to control and prevent juvenile delinquency in the future.

While the book is written within a framework of sociological theory, the necessity of utilizing the knowledge of other specialists, particularly in the areas of individual treatment and social action, is emphasized. Delinquency is conceived as a result of two types of factors: (1) an emotional frustration experienced by the individual in relation to his environment; or (2) certain deviant behavior patterns impinging upon the person in his cultural milieu.

Carr overlooks the possibility that even if delinquency can be reduced to a negligible quantity by bringing our best knowledge to bear on the problem, it is impossible to say, in the light of our present knowledge, whether or not such a situation might produce other problems just as serious as the one eliminated. In other words, because some delinquency is a product of conflicting value systems in culture, it is something quite different from a physical disease and consequently may not respond to the same control measures which have been found effective in the reduction of many such diseases. Control in this area must be effected through a definite cultural reorganization—something which Carr recognizes even though he does not mention the above implication. This is further seen when he asserts that "the same effort that cuts the volume of delinquent juveniles must inevitably cut the number of criminals, mental cases, and social misfits" (p. 37). One wonders. In fact, the marked reduction of certain types of juvenile delinquency might lead to an increase of certain types of mental cases due possibly to an increase in certain areas of frustration. More research is needed here.

While Carr presents an inclusive classification of delinquents, moving from decreasing antisocial expectancy to increasing coverage—namely, detected delinquents, behavior problem children, and children in danger (subject to community deviation pressures)—this classification is certainly inadequate for scientific purposes. Children who are delinquent because of conflicting value-systems in their environments require different treatment measures than children presenting behavior deviations because of emotional frustrations experienced in a “normal” environment. Professor Carr would no doubt readily admit this, but nowhere is it made clear as to how these two different types are to be treated. The entire discussion might have been clarified if some adequate scientific scheme for classifying delinquents had been developed and attention focused on each one in turn.

Even so, this is a significant book in this field, both because of its comprehensive character and its challenge to social action. It is also a much needed one, and should prove exceedingly valuable as a textbook for undergraduate courses bearing the label of juvenile delinquency.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

Police Systems in the United States. By BRUCE SMITH. New York: Harper & Bros., 1940. Pp. xx+384. \$4.00.

The unique and extremely complex role of police in the United States represents problems which are without parallel in other countries and which have been but slightly clarified for us. In this comprehensive survey, Bruce Smith clarifies, defines, and criticizes both the old and the new problems of the police in such a manner that little remains to be desired.

Against a background of their historical development, the author studies the various ramifications of the three main police classifications: (1) Federal and State, (2) urban, (3) rural and suburban. A detailed account of these forces is given wherein their resources are analyzed, the structure and function of organization defined, and their interrelation and integration explained. The strength or weakness of the agency under scrutiny is exposed in the light of scientific findings and modern needs. In many instances, comparisons with modified conditions existing in the English system aid greatly in exemplifying the solution of the issue in question.

Smith's viewpoint is by no means pessimistic. The Topsy-like growth of police in this country may, after all, lead to efficient organizations. Some of the ill-adapted growths—such as the sheriff and the constable—still cling on and should be eliminated. These offices are hindrances to the general police morale and have no value except political patronage. In viewing the future prospect, a definitely optimistic tone is struck as a result of some of the healthy developments now manifest. Especially is this so with regard to the personnel, administration, and status of the Federal and State police, where political manipulation seems to be at its weakest.

Very significant is Smith's idea that the States rather than the Federal government will lead the action to lower the high costs of police. If and when this does occur, Smith's recommendations for the replacement of over-

lapping rural and suburban police units by State-controlled regional or district forces will be of great importance. Further comment regarding police economy is most pertinent. Our police forces have been housed in beautiful, costly buildings and given all types of gadgets and scientific mechanisms when they are actually in need of *men*. The need is for career men in both rank and file, who, aided by sufficient salary impetus, can efficiently carry on an honorable job and overcome the political stigma which has for so long obviated public support.

Any brief review of this work can scarcely do it justice. It is well written and easily readable. The freshness of viewpoint, impartial treatment of subject matter, and exceptional organization of factual material in *Police Systems in the United States* are such that this book is the most valuable contribution to police literature now existing.

GEORGE K. BROWN

St. Lawrence University

The Prison Community. By DONALD CLEMMER. The Christopher Publishing Company, 1940. Pp. xi+341. \$4.00.

The field of penal sociology has received but casual and sporadic attention from sociologists during the past, and most of their pronouncements have been largely denunciations or schemes for reform. Clemmer's book is the first life-size portrait of the prison community processually analyzed. The announcement on the jacket that it "treats the prison objectively and comprehensively" is more than a publisher's come-on. It is even more than an objective and comprehensive analysis of the interpersonal processes within the walled town—to coin a novel phrase—it is a sociological document of first-rate importance. Clemmer for years was sociologist in one of Illinois' State prisons and made good use of his time and opportunity to observe and record the contents of the prisoners' mind and how they got there.

The thesis of this excellent volume is that there is a prison culture. The author's task is to analyze the bases and processes within that culture and describe its effect upon the inmates. Systematically and coherently he has brought together the many influences which converge upon the prisoner and to which he has given the name "prisonization." The development of primary group relationships, prison language, the criteria and emergence of leadership, the effects of leisure time activities, which he regards as far more important than vocational training, the everlasting problem of homosexuality, the prisoners' attitudes toward the administration, the community, the law and, most important, toward themselves; the various means and forms of social control, the high importance of morale, the constant shifting, changing panorama of prison life are described by the mind of the scientist and the pen of the artist.

As far as this reviewer is concerned this is one of the most important works devoted exclusively to the sociology of imprisonment that has ever been written. Penologists would do well to read and study this volume and, particularly, to grasp clearly the author's concept of "prisonization." In

characteristic American fashion I will take a small bet that this book has an even chance of becoming a classic in its field.

J. P. SHALLOO

University of Pennsylvania

Intelligence and Crime. By SIMON H. TULCHIN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+166. \$2.00.

This volume presents a report of the investigation of 10,413 prisoners in three penal institutions in Illinois during the period 1920-1926. As far as was practicable the "intelligence" of these prisoners was studied by the same procedures and tests as were employed in the United States Army in 1917-18. The author concludes that the men in the penal institutions of Illinois correspond very closely on test scores to the men drafted from Illinois for military service in World War I. Contrary to the tendency generally observed, recidivists had higher test scores than did the first offenders.

The study has a broader scope than the title indicates and deals with many items besides the relationship between crime and intelligence test scores. The material on concomitants of various types of offenses is especially interesting and suggestive.

In spite of the scarcity of references to comparable studies, the absence of measures of statistical reliability, and the lack of case histories so often lamented by the author, this volume makes a contribution—if one is still needed—toward ending the over-emphasis upon mental defect as a source of antisocial behavior.

H. C. BREARLEY

Peabody College

Crime and Its Treatment. By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD and JOHN BARKER WAITE. New York: American Book Company, 1941. Pp. ix+742. \$3.50.

The following statement in the Foreword of this volume offers an excellent clue to the character of the work:

The most original feature of the present volume is its inclusion of not only the sociological material which follows the usual pattern, but also of a considerable section dealing with the legal aspects of crime. . . . However, it will be seen that not a little of the legal discussion herein included, as in the treatment of the status of punishment, departs from mere legal tradition, and accords with points of view that one finds in modern psychology and sociology.

The lucid and well organized section of 109 pages (on "The Legal Aspects of Crime") by Waite is well worth reading, particularly for students seeking a stimulating and unambiguous introduction to that subject. The rest of the book, however, as implied in the foreword, is very much along conventional lines and adds little to material already published. Wood confines himself almost entirely to the description of points of view and research works, but neglects the important problems of analysis and criticism. Divergent and sometimes contradictory theories are briefly and not always adequately stated. Theoretical problems implicit in the materials and in the theories are not usually examined. The discussion of matters related to crime causation lacks cohesiveness. This can probably be attributed to the

author's eclecticism or lack of a definitive point of view. Documentation is not extensive nor is it entirely up to date.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

De Nordiske Kriminalistfoereninggarnas Arsbok 1939. Stockholm, 1940. Pp. 46.

This yearbook contains a paper by Thorsten Sellin on "Probation in the United States" which surveys the varying systems in use in the United States.

The essence of the new instrumentality in treating criminal misconduct lies in a careful investigation into the offender's make-up and the watchful supervision of the probationer. The simple suspension of sentence may be indicated in a few cases, but will generally not suffice.

It can scarcely be said that in the great majority of our States the necessary investigation goes deeply enough into the disposition and the surroundings of the offender to enable the judge to come to a right decision. However, another great change is slowly in the making. The judge learns how little he knows of the defendant whose fate he has to decide upon in a few minutes. He gradually gets used to sending the probation officer to investigate the milieu and the circumstances of a prisoner; he begins to look into the causes, or at least some of the causes, which brought about criminal behavior instead of relying solely on a detective's opinion or a meaningless plea of guilty. Although our probation system is not perfect, in most of the States it has produced a change in the mentality of the judge and the agencies of prosecution.

On the other hand our judges are not educated for using this powerful and far-reaching instrument in the right way. Our judges receive a legal, not a sociological education, although their new and momentous task in the field of probation and parole is a mere corrective one.

Of this situation, which is still in flux, Thorsten Sellin's paper gives a lively and judicious picture.

HANS VON HENTIG

University of Colorado

Jurisprudence. By EDGAR BODENHEIMER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940. Pp. 357. \$3.50.

It is significant that today a book entitled *Jurisprudence* should include a chapter on "Sociological Positivism." The sociological treatment of the subject matter of law seems to have been definitively recognized as equal to the analytical, historical, and philosophical study.

In the chapter just mentioned, both European and American sociological jurisprudence and the sociology of law are discussed. Particularly good is the section on sociological jurisprudence in this country (pp. 299-310). The treatment of the European ideas in this field, however, is somewhat obscured by the non-recognition of the affinity between the German "jurisprudence of interests" and American sociological jurisprudence, between

the Franco-German "free law" school and American legal realism. A good opportunity for a sociological interpretation of these movements has thus been missed.

The author's approach to the problem yields the result that law, in its *essential* nature, provides a mean between anarchy and despotism: to avoid anarchy, it limits the power of private individuals; to avoid despotism, it curbs the power of the government (p. 14). Law arises from the tension and adjustments between society and its rulers (p. 212), and can flourish only where there is a wide distribution of approximately equal power units (p. 26). Government by law is a cultural acquisition, very much challenged in our day, and is not necessarily an acquisition which will last forever (p. 37). Bodenheimer explicitly rejects philosophical and sociological relativism, which is ready to consider legal almost every form of societal regulation provided that it be endowed with specified sanctions. Law, in the opinion of the author, is an embodiment of certain values, and therefore "in order to ascertain whether a certain social order is an order of law, the actual distribution of rights, duties, and powers within the private as well as within the public sphere must be examined" (p. 291).

In addition to the chapters where sociological problems are explicitly discussed, the whole of Part III of the work is sociologically relevant. It treats of "the law-shaping forces," especially the political, psychological, economic, racial, and cultural ones (pp. 195-261). The presentation of the theories of the law of nature (pp. 103-192) is equally of interest, as the author frequently applies, though without direct mention, the fundamental theorems of the sociology of knowledge.

The book is written in very readable language. This makes it especially commendable as preparatory reading to those students of sociology who are inclined to attack the difficult field of the sociology of law. There is a good index.

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Feeble-minded Children as a Massachusetts Problem. By JEANETTE R. GRUENER. Boston: Massachusetts Child Council, 1941. Pp. 63.

This is a brief but competent report. Massachusetts probably has the best care for mental defectiveness found in any state. In 1937, it was caring for 6,564 defectives and epileptics, a rate of 148.3 per 100,000, the highest rate in the United States, Wyoming being second with 147.9. In its three schools for the feeble-minded, 1939, it had 5,238, but for the past ten years the waiting list has averaged around 3,000. The schools are 30 percent overcrowded. Only 40 percent are judged incapable of any productive work, about 15 percent being discharged as capable of self-support.

Many mental defectives can be trained, supervised, and some can be cured or at least improved. In future years, much more will be possible and will be done—even in Massachusetts. Certainly it is not only a "Massachusetts problem."

Man and the Western World. By JOHN GEISE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940. Pp. xxii + x + 1041. \$7.50.

These two volumes represent a skillful adaptation of Harry Elmer Barnes' *History of Western Civilization*. Many of the headings are the same, and in a few passages the wording is identical.

cal. In spite of this, however, Geise's volumes fill a real place. To begin with, they are lavishly illustrated with good half-tones, pen-and-ink drawings, numerous black-and-white and colored maps, and occasional graphs and charts. The shape and size of the two volumes should make them even more acceptable as textbooks, although such considerations should be quite extraneous. The ordinary student is repelled by bulk, and teachers inevitably take that fact into account. Paper and binding are not likely to prove especially attractive or durable, but the typography, with its black-face captions in the margins, greatly aids in making the skeleton clearly apparent. The indexing has been well done; a feature that might well be copied in elementary books is the inclusion of a key to pronunciation for all difficult words.

If any general criticism were to be made, it would have to be in terms of the American pattern of history teaching generally; namely, the repetition of essentially the same material in both high school and college. That, however, is a larger issue.

Mind Through the Ages. By MARTIN STEVERS. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940. Pp. xii + 521. \$3.75.

In the words of the author, this book "is not a treatise intended for scholarly consideration." Nevertheless, some scholars might profit by reading what is after all a fairly skillful job of synthesis. Moreover, even the specialized historian can get a few ideas here and there—for instance, Stevers' interesting appendix on the development and spread of the alphabet.

The Social Relations of Science. By J. G. CROWTHER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xxxii + 665. \$3.50.

What a book! Crammed with facts, some digestible and some not, some relevant and some not—an essentially simple-minded performance. It is apparent that the writer has absorbed a little vulgar Marxism, with the usual consequences. Marx would have been one of the first to disavow disciples like this.

Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy. By KURT VON FRITZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 113. \$2.00.

The reader picks up a book with a title like this in the hope of learning something that can be readily built into integrated studies of Greek life, but it offers only a bit of finespun textual exegesis with a little random interpretation. Minar's unpublished Ph. D. thesis, "Early Pythagorean Politics in Practice and Theory" (University of Wisconsin, 1939) is a much more usable piece of work so far as the ordinary social scientist is concerned.

The Foundations of Empirical Knowledge. By A. J. AYER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. x + 276. \$2.50.

The Oxford author of the refreshingly dogmatic *Language, Truth, and Logic* has now addressed such traditional issues as the reality of the world, the relation of sense data to material things, and how we know other minds when we do. Extensive attention is given to problems of perception and there is a general treatment of causality. If you bring a young man to traditional philosophic problems he may be assimilated to the maze that makes them problems.

Toward a Solution. By ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. Pp. 345.

Rabbi Goldstein defines the Jewish problem as that of a sick enviroing society. Attempts at assimilation result in tragic failure, and the solution must be sought in collective action by the Jews, and in the extension of brotherly love among non-Jews.

History of the Jews in Cologne. By ADOLF KOBER. Translated by Solomon Grayzel. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940. Pp. 412.

This is a very readable, intensive study of the history of the oldest Jewish community in Germany, extending in time from the Roman occupation to the present.

Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organizations. By H. S. LINFIELD. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1939. Pp. 64.

Historical and methodological notes preface thirty-four pages of detailed data of the American Jewish population, including the number of synagogues, teachers, etc., covered by the censuses of 1850 to 1900.

Why Anti-Semitism? By EDMUND J. HORVATH. New York: The Bass Publishers, 1940. Pp. 40. \$.50.

The author, a Roman Catholic, does not understand the reasons for Jewish persecution, but he does know the solution. This solution rests upon the non-Jew's practicing "understanding and noble thoughts," to the end that all men may realize their destiny, namely, salvation!

Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON and Associates: LEWIS W. JONES, BUFORD H. JUNKER, ELI S. MARIS and PRESTON VALIEN. Consultants: Edwin R. Embree and W. Lloyd Warner. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x+355. \$4.00.

The purpose of the book is suggested by Edwin R. Embree at the close of the Preface: "We know that this material will be of great value in the planning of educational programs. We hope it may also be serviceable to scholars and statesmen in many other types of planning for the future of the American South." Tables of statistical data, arranged alphabetically by States and counties, occupy about two-thirds of the pages. Each county is classified according to the dominant crop produced, then follow brief figures on population, education, literacy, economics, and lynchings! One chapter exhibits correlations between some of the factors included in the county tables: "The proportion of a county's population which is Negro is, for example, correlated with the type of crop raised, with the per capita expenditures for Negro education, and with the system of agriculture used." A long list of references, chiefly Southern bulletins and theses, is appended.

Challenges to American Youth. JOSEPH I. ARNOLD. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1940. Pp. i+696 \$1.80.

A lively senior high school text in social problems, copiously illustrated with half-tones.

World Federation. OSCAR NEWFANG. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1939. Pp. xi+118 in English. French translation by Pierre Gault, pp. xi+118 in French, all in the same book.

An earnest little book which asserts that world peace is conceivable because "permanent peace" has been achieved in the internal affairs of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy.

Karl Marx in His Earlier Writings. By H. P. ADAMS. New York: Macmillan Company, 1940. Pp. 221. \$1.90.

Although slender in size this volume stands up tall and keen among the wash of Marxist stuff coming off the presses. Not by a Marxist scholar, but rather a scholar of Marx, it manages to convey a real sense of the very concrete issues and problems of Marx as intellectual and as journalist. It covers the period from the first quiet school-boy essays and lyric poems through the dissertation on Greek thought, the first ideological imputations and political essays to the firm attack on Proudhon. Mr. Adams has filled his title up to the brim: he has detected, and explained in beautifully readable prose, the germinal and penetrative conceptions which later bloomed into a system.

Standards of Relief: An Analysis of One Hundred Family Case Records. By ANNA ROSELLE JOHNSON. Washington: Murray & Heister, 1938. Pp. x+153.

Historically this monograph has some value in that it describes one agency's efforts to

handle standards of relief during that particularly significant period in social work, 1923 to 1933. But the material collected is of little practical value now.

Personality and the Family. (Rev. ed.) By HORNELL and ELLA B. HART. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1941. Pp. iv + 526. \$3.25.

This is admittedly a self-help volume "written primarily as an aid to the student in finding fulfillment of personality. . . " (p. 51). An extensive summary of the literature, dealing specifically with marriage and family relations, fails to become much more than that in the absence of an interpretative theoretical frame and a conception of personality which are at all adequate. For instance, the fact that neither the name nor the central concepts of G. H. Mead appear in the book is suggestive.

Special Collections in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. By NINA ALMOND and H. H. FISHER. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 111.

The special collections in the Hoover Library offer a wealth of material for the social psychologist and the sociologist interested in war and peace. This book will prove useful as an informal guide to the materials available, both as to type and quantity. In some ways the index will be found more valuable than the body of the book, since the former provides a guide to the material on particular topics, while the latter is organized largely on the basis of the donors of the various collections.

Recreational Research. By G. M. GLOSS. Published by the author. University, La.: Louisiana State University, 1940. Pp. 63. \$1.00.

This study might with greater accuracy be captioned "An Annotated Bibliography of Recreational Research." Within 40 pages Gloss comments upon 305 recreational studies. It makes heavy going for the reader. The author is a member of the faculty of the School of Health, Physical Education and Recreation of Louisiana State University.

The discussion falls under eight main heads: history and recent trends; general sociological effects; youth and leisure; recreation and education; public recreation; economic effects; professional aspects; personal health and recreation. In addition to the main title entries there is a listing of 22 recreational bibliographies.

Recreational Research is a useful collection of material for the person working in this field. One noteworthy feature is the listing of a large number of unpublished M.A. theses completed in various American universities.

Sociology. (Rev. ed.) By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xiv + 567. \$3.00.

This volume represents the seventh edition of the author's general introductory text. As in the past the treatment centers attention on the social group. Unfortunately this concept is loosely defined. The work is further handicapped by adherence to the verbal magic of instinctivism. Bogardus labors under the common delusion that naming and explaining are synonymous.

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